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# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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FOCUS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

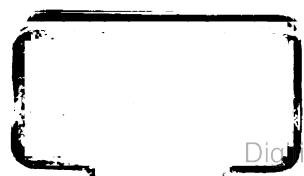


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FINDS AND RESULTS FROM THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION 1927–1931: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE



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*Proceedings from the International Conference 'Finds and Results  
from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927–1931: A Gender Perspective',  
March 31–April 2, 2006,  
Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, Sweden*



**In memory of Paul Åström**



# MEDELHAVSMUSEET

FOCUS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

The journal "Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean" is aimed at audiences working with museological, archaeological, historical and modern questions and issues in the Mediterranean, seeking also to arouse interest in material cultural heritage in this region among a wider audience. This fifth volume contains the proceedings from the international conference held at the Medelhavsmuseet March 31–April 2, 2006: *Finds and Results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927–1931: A Gender Perspective*.

The Medelhavsmuseet is a state museum founded in 1954. It houses ancient and historical collections mainly from Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, a large portion of which stems from Swedish archaeological excavations undertaken in the early 20th century. Since 1999, the Medelhavsmuseet, together with the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm and the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg form the organization the National Museums of World Culture, the purpose of which is to provide a perspective on world cultures to wider audiences.

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## FOREWORD

The conference *Finds and Results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition: A Gender Perspective* took place March 31–April 2 in 2006 with generous support from the Swedish Research Council and the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation.

The year 2006 marked the 75th anniversary of the completion of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927–1931) after which half of the excavation finds were shipped to Sweden with permission from the British colonial government.

Today the Swedish Cyprus Expedition stands out as having a somewhat contradictory character. On the one hand, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition is a child of the last decades of colonial archaeology. From this perspective, it belongs to a world governed by views, attitudes and value systems which to children and the young generation today appear just as antique as – if not more than – the antiquities which the expedition brought back. On the other hand, the members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition still enjoy worldwide recognition as founders of modern Cypriote archaeology, and their seminal publications, produced with the leader of the expedition Einar Gjerstad as a



The Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Mersinaki in 1930. From left John Lindros, Alfred Westholm, Erik Sjöqvist and Einar Gjerstad.

driving force, continue to be a “bible” in archaeological circles. In a way, even the colonial impression of the expedition adds to its importance, as the expedition itself and its finds have become an invaluable physical and intellectual monument of a *Zeitgeist* and an academic world-view in Sweden in the first decades of the 20th century.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the finds from the expedition housed in the Medelhavsmuseet still occupy a unique position among Cyprus collections around the world and are capable of stimulating new areas of studies in Cypriote archaeology, as the present volume exemplifies.

The conference *Finds and Results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition: A Gender Perspective* is the first major international conference on the Swedish Cyprus collections organized by the Medelhavsmuseet. The immediate background to this initiative is an important event in the history of the collections of a more recent date. In 2003, the Medelhavsmuseet received a generous grant from the A.G. Leventis Foundation, in instalments over a five-year period, to move the Cyprus exhibition from a rather hidden and inaccessible exhibition room to the central and main hall of the museum. Since the Cyprus collections form the direct reason for the foundation of the Medelhavsmuseet (in 1954), this idea was wholeheartedly welcomed and the gallery has been realized stepwise in order to follow the pace of the instalments and to avoid long periods of closure of the museum. An important part of the preparations for the new gallery was the rebuilding in 2006 of the museum shop and the entrance facilities. The purpose was to create direct visibility from the street

into the (coming) new Cyprus gallery with the statues from Mersinaki and the rock-like construction covering the roughly 1,000 terracottas from Ayia Irini as the main eye-catcher for people passing by on the street. Later in 2006, “The A.G. Leventis Gallery of Cypriote Antiquities: the Mezzanine Floor” opened. This small but object-heavy study corner (about 500 objects) forms an introduction to the (coming) Cyprus gallery in the central hall by focusing on the background and achievements of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Being an integrated part of the museum café on the mezzanine floor, visitors are able to read and study digitized archive material stemming from the expedition as well as books on Cypriote archaeology over a cup of coffee or a glass of wine and will soon enjoy a full view of “The A.G. Leventis Gallery of Cypriote Antiquities: the Central Hall”. The latter opens in January 2009 with more than 1,500 archaeological finds.

In the early stages of planning the new Cyprus galleries, a wish arose to integrate recent research in the finds and results of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and in Cypriote archaeology in general. The issue of “gender” and the related question of “multiculturalism” has been explored in other conferences in recent times.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, this issue still seemed highly appropriate for several reasons. First and foremost, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition not only professionalized Cypriote archaeology, it also introduced a kind of “social archaeology” which aimed at revealing a broad spectrum of social hierarchies in time and space.<sup>3</sup> The “gender” perspective therefore appeared very much in line with the approach to Cyprus

of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Secondly, in my own experience from studies in Greek archaeology, the “gender” issue has proven to engage a whole new generation of researchers working in many different historic disciplines. It is therefore hoped that the gender issue will help integrate Cypriote archaeology and the finds and results of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in a wide field of academic disciplines. Thirdly, it has been the general experience of the Medelhavsmuseet that gender issues evoke new interest in the collections among wider and younger audiences, perhaps because gender aspects offer a more “direct”, personal line to the past which makes identification with past realities easier. Finally, the year 2006 happened to be proclaimed at governmental level as the “year of gender and multiculturalism”.

Against this background, it seems more than appropriate that the present publication should be released in connection with the inauguration of the new Cyprus gallery in the central hall on 29 January 2009. I take the opportunity to thank all contributors for a stimulating conference and for their papers. I also thank Yiannis Vilaris from the Cyprus Museum who gave an interesting evening lecture on the Swedish Cyprus Expedition as seen through the local press of Cyprus. Many thoughts and ideas from the conference and this publication will penetrate the new gallery and help our visitors to see Cyprus from new perspectives.

I also wish to extend a warm thank you to the staff at the Medelhavsmuseet who in various ways have worked hard to bring the conference and this publication to fruition. I



Digital illustration of the coming “A.G. Leventis Gallery of Cypriot Antiquities” in the central hall, designed by White Arkitekter.

extend special thanks to Dr. Karen Slej who not only helped organize the conference but also did substantial work with the editing of the papers and gave a most entertaining evening lecture on the Swedish Cyprus Expedition based on the excavation

diaries. Furthermore, I am grateful to Dr. Kristian Göransson who has likewise carried out much of the final editing and to Dr. Sofia Häggman for her help. The practical arrangement of the conference and assistance with the editing of the papers has rested

on the shoulders of Sofia Fische, and I thank her for her great efficiency. The Medelhavsmuseet is indebted to the Swedish Research Council and the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation for making the conference possible.



The participants from left to right: Sanne Houby-Nielsen, Karen Slej, Demetra Papaconstantinou, Bernard Knapp, Cecilia Beer, Krzyztof Domzalski, Charalambia Kenti, Gerald Cadogan, Lone Wriedt Sørensen, Joseph A. Greene, Stephanie Lynn Budin, Ellen Herscher, Sofia Nordin Fischer, Danielle Leibundgut Wieland, Filippo Giudice, Paul Åström, Innocenza Giudice, Kirsu Lorentz, Irmgard Hein, Anne Marie Carstens, Evy Johanne Håland, Georgia Bonny Bazemore, Fredrik Helander, Ergün Laflı, Trine Wisman, Carl Gustaf Styrenius, Mr. Z. Stos-Gale, Ioannis Violaris, Celia Bergoffen, Jennifer Webb, Sandra Christou, Maria Mina, Nikos Roumelis, Dina Gilby, Susanne Unge Sörling.

In the final stages of preparation for the present publication, the sad and unexpected news reached us that Danielle A. Parks and soon after Paul Åström had passed away. The Medelhavsmuseet extends deep-felt condolences to the family and colleagues of both. We are grateful for being able to

publish their important papers. Paul Åström's contribution to Cypriote archaeology and to the finds and results of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition is immeasurable. The Medelhavsmuseet sincerely dedicates this volume to his memory and will in every way seek to promote Cypriote archaeology in

his spirit and secure a future interest in ancient Cyprus by reaching out to children and wider audiences in Sweden and abroad.

Sanne Houby-Nielsen  
*Director, Ph.D.*

#### NOTES

1 For the Swedish background, see Sanne Houby-Nielsen, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927-1931 and Its Relation to Contemporary Prehistoric Archaeology in Sweden*, in V.

Karageorghis et al. (eds), *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet, Nicosia 2003*, 1-12.

2 Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite. Women*

*and Society in Ancient Cyprus* (= CAARI Monographs 3), 2002. Boston.

3 See previous note.

## FROM CASH LOAN TO *MAGNUM OPUS*: A FRESH LOOK AT THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION

Gerald Cadogan  
*University of Reading, UK*

It is a stirring story, a parable of faith, generosity and talents, how Axel Persson lent the unknown and desperate Luke Z. Pierides 10 pounds, and then five more, on a train in Serbia in March 1922,<sup>1</sup> and how the practical confidence of that cash loan was repaid by an invitation to Cyprus for scholarly research, plus a present of antiquities for the Crown Prince, and these in turn led to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Some investment, some return.

I am honoured to give the opening paper at this conference, all the more since I am three-eighths Swedish, thanks to a grandmother from Göteborg and a great-grandmother from Stockholm. I have forgotten what little Swedish I learnt as a child when I came for holidays at Särö, but I can at least still say "Tack så mycket" for the invitation to be here; and, moving to Greek where I am more fluent, I wish Medelhavsmuseet a heartfelt "Καλη λευτερια" from all of us.

Nineteenth century Cyprus had been an archaeological playground for treasure hunting dilettantes,<sup>2</sup> an approach that did not, alas, totally disappear when the British took over the island in 1878 – as I see in the dozens of pits, some or many of them the

work of the British Museum team in 1897, that disfigure the site of Maroni-Vournes. Of this early era, when the newly founded British School at Athens came to Cyprus, to Kouklia, for its first fieldwork,<sup>3</sup> since a part of the Classical world was back again in British hands,<sup>4</sup> one name stands out: John Myres, hailed by Porphyrios Dikaios already in 1940 as "the founder of Cypriot Archaeology".<sup>5</sup> In 1894, after Oxford and two years in Greece at the School, he came to Cyprus. It was around this time that he also recognised the Aegean pottery that Flinders Petrie had found at Kahun in Egypt as like that of the Kamares Cave in Crete,<sup>6</sup> thus establishing early second millennium culture on Crete five years before Arthur Evans began at Knossos.<sup>7</sup>

After digging at Ayia Paraskevi, Kalopsida and Larnaca, which introduced him to everything from Early Cypriot to Roman,<sup>8</sup> he turned to writing a commissioned report (scathing – as young, brilliant scholars can be) on the condition (appalling) of the Government Collection of Antiquities, otherwise known as the Cyprus Museum, and re-arranging it, working with Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. Their report eventually appeared in

1899.<sup>9</sup> This thorough, impressive and pioneering work defined a Stone Age and Bronze Age, and then Graeco-Phoenician, before Hellenistic, and, following on from the pioneering classificatory approach of T.B. Sandwith,<sup>10</sup> introduced – and made systematic – terms such as Red Polished, Black Slip, Base-Ring, and Buccero (as well as painted pottery with a "white chalky slip"). With its long and inquisitive introduction that looks at Cyprus as both a self-contained unit and an offshore part of the East Mediterranean, through which different cultures and different empires came and went, the *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* gives a comprehensive view of the island's pre-Hellenistic archaeology as at the end of the 19th century. Einar Gjerstad would have known this book from cover to cover, as he must have known Myres's other remarkable work – the 1914 handbook of the Cesnola Collection in New York,<sup>11</sup> which gives an updated account of the archaeology, if at times somewhat over-influenced by what another Oxonian, Evans, was finding at Knossos. This time Myres substituted Early Iron Age for Graeco-Phoenician, and introduced the still rather confusing two cycles of White



On the staircase of Pierides' house in Larnaca, 1930.

From left: Luke Z. Pierides (consul for Sweden), Demetrios Z. Pierides (consul for Austria), Mrs. Augusta M. Haholiades (née Pierides), Crown Prince Gustav Adolf of Sweden, Einar Gjerstad, Mrs. Susanna D. Pierides, Zeno D. Pierides (Consul for Germany and Consul General for Sweden), Michael Haholiades. Sitting on the staircase is Erik Sjöqvist. Photo probably by John Lindros.

Painted ware (that is to say pottery that is both white and with painted decoration), in the Bronze Age and then in the Iron Age.

In the meantime Evans had codified the three-part, nine-fold Minoan system of pottery, stratigraphy and history in a brilliant pamphlet with a disarming title (*Essai de classification des époques de la civilisation minoenne*),<sup>12</sup> and Alan Wace and Carl Blegen were preparing their thoughts to extend his approach to the Helladic and Cycladic cultures.<sup>13</sup> Today their major article still fundamentally defines these cultures and their sequences, just as Evans's essay still defines the Minoan cultural sequence.

Finally, not least as Swedes, Gjerstad and the Expedition team would have been well versed, as Paul Åström reminds me, in the writings and analytical approach, with emphasis on typology, of Oscar Montelius, who himself wrote a synthesis in 1900 of the prehistory of Cyprus. Alas, this lay unpublished until Paul rescued it for the 1993 conference on Montelius, and publication in 1995.<sup>14</sup>

Such then was the intellectual background to attempting prehistory in Greece and/or a Greek environment for people such as Persson and his brilliant student Einar Gjerstad, who knew their classics as well as they knew their archaeology. The same

holds for Blegen, Evans and Wace. For all these, their knowledge of written texts in explaining the not always rational behaviour of historical times in Greek lands could moderate their explanations in prehistory, which is by definition without written texts. This background becomes then part of the inductive process of moving from the known to the unknown, even if it is not always the flavour of the times in today's often deductive academic world. Yet how important this approach remains, on a compare-and-contrast basis, in trying to understand the diachronic interaction of people and place – a perception that permeates *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*.

The history of the Expedition is, or should be, well known to all here, and does not need rehearsing now. I am sure, however, that we do not turn to the volumes enough, not nearly so much as they deserve. So I welcome this conference as a way to refocus our thoughts and help us to realise that understanding the issues that early 20th century archaeologists had to handle, and the approaches they took to do so, enables us to comprehend better both their results and all the results that have come since. Without an awareness of the history of the epistemology of the subject, we lose out in the depth of our judgements and may arrogantly claim spurious novelty and spurious breakthroughs.

The key to the *magna opera* of the Expedition to Cyprus and the resulting multi-volume book is, of course, Gjerstad's lively, seminal and hugely impressive and enjoyable *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*,<sup>15</sup> which came out 80 years ago. Taking the subject on from Myres, he gives us a new – and many



Nitovikla, 1929. From left: Toulis Terkourafis (driver), Menelaos Markides (head of the Cyprus Museum 1912–1931), Einar Gjerstad, Porphyrios Dikaios, Erik Sjöqvist. Photo by John Lindros.

times larger – total view of Cypriot prehistory through painstakingly intelligent descriptions of the material evidence. This set the scene and the intellectual problems for the Expedition, at the same time delineating the methodology for the fieldwork and also the publication. It is a staggering achievement, by a man who was under thirty, written with a quiet, courteous but strong irony that sets a stamp of authority on his opinions, not least since he reveals constantly the imagination that can consider alternative questions, approaches and judgments. When he started Chapter 1 on Topography with “Although it is not wise to give guests of the worst wine at first, this is what must be done,”<sup>16</sup> I wonder, did he have at the back of

his mind the marriage feast at *Cana*? Whatever, there can be no doubt how miraculous these results were.

It cannot have been easy for him to put it all together. Settlement architecture was exiguous: Alambra, Kalopsida and Nikolides. And that's it: they were the sites where he had put in a pick. Tombs offered more scope. Better still was pottery, where he saw how to transform Myres's classification “into a system of typological series, by means of which both a clearer general view and better continuity may be won in the numerous pottery-types.”<sup>17</sup> Thus the system we all still use was codified, with of course refinements in *SCE* and further modifications since, which are generally not that major but often a

matter of refined terminology. What a blessing it is that he and Myres separated the terminology of the pottery styles from that of the chronological divisions. The alternative would have been the confusion between the two that has bedevilled Aegean prehistory, especially in Crete where it stems from the main weakness – using the same terms for both – in Evans's system of 1906. Nor can that system cope with regional variation, except through such heavy terminology as “East Cretan Early Minoan III” (which, as Minoanists know, may well date to Middle Minoan IA in central Cretan terms, adding to the anguish). How lucky we are to be free of this encumbrance in Cyprus, thanks primarily to Gjerstad.

In reading the pottery chapter, I am struck also by his formidable attention to fabric, extraordinarily comprehensive grasp, and the guts and dash to be explicit, as in writing that there is “only one reason to suppose that the Mycenaean ware has not been imported from Greece; viz. its frequency in Cyprus – in other words, there is no reason at all.”<sup>18</sup> It took a long time for all scholars to accept this view, but by the late twentieth century they had, at last.

In 1927, the year after *Studies* was published and Persson had dug the Dendra Tholos Tomb, the Expedition moved into action and worked for four “fantastic years”, to quote Alfred Westholm.<sup>19</sup> Gjerstad and his colleagues were young, albeit with large responsibilities. It was heady, exhilarating work (that is quite clear both from *SCE* and the accounts of the Expedition) to set out to create “a comprehensive account of the history and culture from the Stone Age to the end of the Roman era”<sup>20</sup> that was systematic and based on taxonomy, but with such a keen eye to the wider picture (the summation and purpose of their empirical observations) that it could handle their new data and the chance finds that often proved the spurs to the team’s researches.

After those four years of digging, came study and publication. The achievement of putting together their primary evidence, from Petra tou Limniti to Arsos, in three mighty volumes, within 10 years of starting, exceeds our feeble comprehension – and stands preeminent among the East Mediterranean excavation reports of the time. Such energy and drive: or, as Gjerstad himself said later about Paul Åström, such a combination of

“strong will and intellectual capacity”.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, synthesising began. In 1940 Erik Sjöqvist brought out *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*,<sup>22</sup> which we can see now as a foretaste by three decades of what would become Åström’s *SCE* IV:1C and 1D. How intelligent, how instructive to stress the problems.

The war interrupted things, but in 1948 *SCE* IV began to appear, mainly written by Gjerstad, and then Åström, but also (from 1962) by non-Swedes, notably Dikaios, J. R. Stewart and Mervyn Popham, the three of them supplying a contribution from the Commonwealth, of which Cyprus is part.

I do not wish, nor am I qualified, to go into the intra-Commonwealth vexations in and behind *SCE* IV:1A, but I sense a not quite suppressed querulousness in Stewart’s part of the book (I never met him and I may be unfair, but I suspect not), when writing for instance about the pot catalogues in *SCE* I,<sup>23</sup> and a perversity in saying that, “The classic description of early Cyprus [meaning its terrain] was written by Sir John Myres”,<sup>24</sup> which is, we can agree, good but notably short. “Classic” seems a bit excessive: a year later Hector Catling’s great article was published, here in Sweden.<sup>25</sup> And it saddens me, wearing my Aegean hat, to find a regress towards introducing specific chronology into the ceramic terminology, as for example in this mouthful of a heading: “Red Polished III Coarse (Light-on-Dark) ware (possibly Early Cypriote IIIB; Middle Cypriote I).”<sup>26</sup>

But the internal problems of some of *SCE* IV:1A do not detract from the remarkable achievement of the total undertaking, which went to Cyprus,

dug, published and synthesised, all within 45 years. They began as young men, and almost all were still alive when the last volume came out, written and assembled by another young man to whom the baton had passed. This record is yet more fantastic than those fantastic years on the island – what an example to those of us who wake up at four in the morning in dread of not getting our reports out before we are carried out!

And how do we view *SCE* in the third millennium AD? Among the many qualities of the series and the project, I rate first the pioneering imagination of Gjerstad and his team, deciding in effect to create, almost from scratch, the archaeology of one of the Mediterranean’s great islands – John Pendlebury’s *The Archaeology of Crete*,<sup>27</sup> if smaller, is not dissimilar in its combination of diachronic scope, particularity and new, illustrative data (generally extensive survey material,<sup>28</sup> rather than excavations which are the primary case studies of *SCE*), and assembled by another young archaeologist of energy, intellect and imagination.

With the imagination, I couple the courtesy that shines through the work of Gjerstad and his colleagues, then and now. It is not just that being polite gives space for discussion without animosity, or that it makes it far easier to integrate a scholarly team enterprise of a scale and comprehensive focus such as were then barely known in the archaeology of the rest of the world. Courtesy as an innate attitude also allows for better handling and better understanding of the material, by always directing attention towards the Other, here the primary matters of contexts and finds, to ask, “What

can they tell us?", rather than starting from "Now let me tell you..." Modesty in the face of the evidence is one hallmark of the truly great archaeologists.

To imagination and courtesy, we should add the honourable Swedish tradition (to paraphrase Robert Merrillees<sup>19</sup>) of intellectual passion for taxonomy, the perspicacity to see that order, definition and seriation have to be created so as to become the foundations of knowledge. We see this also in the work of Arne Furumark, who has been so successful that his seriation is still often used – if not abused – as prime dating evidence in the Levant, having been sent back by boomerang from Mycenaean Greece, whereas the cycle should be the other way round, with the Levant contributing to the dating of Greece.

By contrast, on the other side of the North Sea we have, many of us, a yen just to pluck brilliance from chaos and, naturally, often do not succeed. If this all appears the eternal contest between vertical and horizontal thinking, we can only remark on how horizontal are the results of the great vertical structures of *SCE*. Horizontal too is the inherent elasticity in the

system so that it can cope with the various continuing modifications, such as drawing new conclusions from old, but properly presented data, or the characterisation of regional variants, or chronological "floaters" such as the *Philia facies*.<sup>20</sup>

This is how the Swedish Cyprus Expedition strikes me. I hope I have not overlooked important points, while well aware how much I need – as I am sure many colleagues need – to immerse myself in it again and again, from *Petra tou Limniti* to *Ar-sos*, and from Neolithic to historical times. As with Evans, and Wace and Blegen, in the Aegean, it is impressive how solidly the *SCE* system stands now, 80 years after *Studies*, in Cyprus. Is there a secret to these analogous achievements? Yes, there may be. In all cases, we are looking at bright people, of energy, passion and intellect (and courtesy), who had to cope with, and make sense of, masses of new material. Of course there had been some work before, least in the case of Crete; but in general these were new challenges. And that meant that these great scholars could create their systems, generally free from

the baggage of preconceptions that we, for instance, have inherited. That their systems still stand shows how well they did their task. And this is what we see in the splendid Swedish research that has continued ever since in Cyprus, and in the unceasing generous support, practical and intellectual, that Swedish scholars give to all, Cypriots and foreigners, who are lucky enough to study early Cyprus.

As for the gender perspective of this conference, may I recall that *SCE* is dedicated "To the Ladies of the Expedition". I met Einar and Vivi Gjerstad at Salamis in 1969, and Arne Furumark and his wife at Knossos around 1975. Furumark was the more terrifying – would you like God, a veritable *deus* from a Mycenaean *machina*, to ask you the date of a pot in your hands, Late Minoan IA or IB?<sup>21</sup>

I offer this in gratitude for Persson's openhandedness to Pierides, and to the memory of Symeon Klonaris who in his last years worked with us at Maroni, some six decades after he began with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

#### NOTES

- 1 There are (insignificant) discrepancies about the total amount of the loan. Westholm (1994, 7) says that it was five pounds; Gjerstad (1980, 9–10) reports two loans of five pounds each; but Persson himself, as quoted by Styrenius (1994, 7) says it was 10 pounds, followed by five more.
- 2 Goring 1988; Tatton-Brown 2001.
- 3 Waterhouse 1986, 9–10, 119–120; Cadogan 2005.

- 4 The Ionian Islands had been transferred to Greece in 1864.
- 5 Dikaios 1940, 56; cf. Karageorghis (1987, 3–5) for a more recent view of Myres's contribution.
- 6 Myres 1895.
- 7 Cadogan 1978a.
- 8 Myres 1897. The sequel did not appear until long afterwards: Myres 1946.
- 9 Myres & Ohnfalsch-Richter 1899.
- 10 Sandwith 1880; see also the discussion by Merrillees (2001), who restores Sandwith's importance as a percipient pioneer.
- 11 Myres 1914.
- 12 Evans 1906.
- 13 Wace & Blegen 1918.
- 14 Montelius 1995; cf. Åström 1995.
- 15 Gjerstad 1926.
- 16 Gjerstad 1926, 3.
- 17 Gjerstad 1926, 88.

18 Gjerstad 1926, 218.  
 19 Cited by Åström (Åström et al. 1994, 5).  
 20 SCE I, xiv.  
 21 SCE IV:1C, iv.  
 22 Sjöqvist 1940.  
 23 E.g. SCE IV:1A, 212.  
 24 SCE IV:1A, 286.  
 25 Catling 1962.  
 26 SCE IV:1A, 229.  
 27 Pendlebury 1939.  
 28 Pendlebury's wide travelling in Crete and deep knowledge of the island's landscape inform his treatment of the locations and lives of the settlements, and the distances and relations between them.  
 29 Merrillees 1994, 39–40.  
 30 Webb & Frankel 1999. The SCE system is equally resilient in coping with new, and more generalising, systems for sequencing Cypriot archaeology, such as the Prehistoric/Protohistoric Bronze Age proposed by Knapp (1994, 274–76, fig. 9.2). Likewise, in Crete N. Platon's "Palatial" system (e.g. as in Zervos 1956, 6–26; cf. also Platon 1968, 9 [with refs]), does not replace Evans's sequence and its finesse but, rather, is a broad-brush addition to it, and valuable as such.  
 31 The vessel in question is a globular alabastron-rhyton with conglomerate decoration: Cadogan 1978b, 76, fig. 18.

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## TWO CASES FROM HALA SULTAN TEKKE: THE MAN WITH A GOLD NECKLACE AND EARRINGS AND THE EGYPTIAN FEMALE NEBUWY

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*Åström Editions, Sävedalen, Sweden*

### The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2

I have tried to follow in the footsteps of Einar Gjerstad and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in excavating on Cyprus at Kalopsidha, Ayios Iakovos and Hala Sultan Tekke. When I brought in the finds from Hala Sultan Tekke in 1971, the curator of the Cyprus Museum, Kyriakos Nicolaou, asked me what we should call my expedition. We agreed to call it the Swedish Cyprus Expedition number two. My choice of topic may therefore be justified as related to the first expedition. I have chosen to discuss two find contexts from Hala Sultan Tekke.

### Determining the sex of skeletons

The theme of this conference is gender perspectives and I would like to begin with a question of principle; it is not possible to make a determination of the sex of a skeleton only based on the objects found in the grave. Regarding the identification of skeletons as male or female, we have to rely on the verdicts of osteologists. The outstanding Swedish osteologist Nils-Gustaf Gejvall did not want to know anything about the accompanying

grave goods when he was to decide if a skeleton was male or female. He once told me that he had determined a skeleton in the Nordic area as female, although it turned out that she had been buried with weapons. Peter Fischer identified a Cypriote skeleton buried with weapons as female and referred to her as an Amazon.<sup>1</sup> An interesting case is the skeleton in a Geometric tomb at Lapiethos; a circular gold ring interpreted as a nose ring was found 70 cm distant from the skull.<sup>2</sup> In Einar Gjerstad's opinion, the nose ring and spindle whorls lying next to the skeleton indicated that it was female. However, the Swedish osteologist Carl Fürst determined the skeleton to be that of a man.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Peter Fischer in his book *Prehistoric Cypriot Skulls*, pointed out that certain features did not contradict the excavator's opinion.<sup>4</sup> This indicates that we cannot be 100 % certain about determinations of the sex of skeletons.

### A Late Cypriote III shaft grave at Hala Sultan Tekke

About 50 shaft graves of the Late Cypriote III period have been excavated but only very few of the skeletons in them have been studied

by osteologists. A skeleton from the French Tomb 413 = 13 at Enkomi was examined by Carl-Herman Hjortsjö who regarded it as "probably man",<sup>5</sup> while in Peter Fischer's opinion it was a male.<sup>6</sup> A skeleton found in a pit grave at Kouklia was said to be female, but there is no osteological report; perhaps the skeleton was regarded as female because of a gold earring, which was found near the skull.<sup>7</sup> The burnt bones from Kourion, Kaloriziki, Tomb 40 (which contained a gold and enamelled sceptre, a bronze spear head and bronze shield bosses) were determined by Nils-Gustaf Gejvall as almost certainly female.<sup>8</sup>

When we excavated a skeleton in a shaft grave at Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 23; Fig. 1),<sup>9</sup> we were biased by the accompanying finds (a dagger, arrow heads and a trident) to regard it as male. When we subsequently discovered that the skeleton had a gold necklace on the chest, my first reflection was that the dead man's wife had placed it there.

The skeleton was in a fragile condition. The pelvis and the skull were fragmentarily preserved. The skull shows signs of artificial cranial deformation (i.e., post-bregmatic flattening). The skeleton was ana-

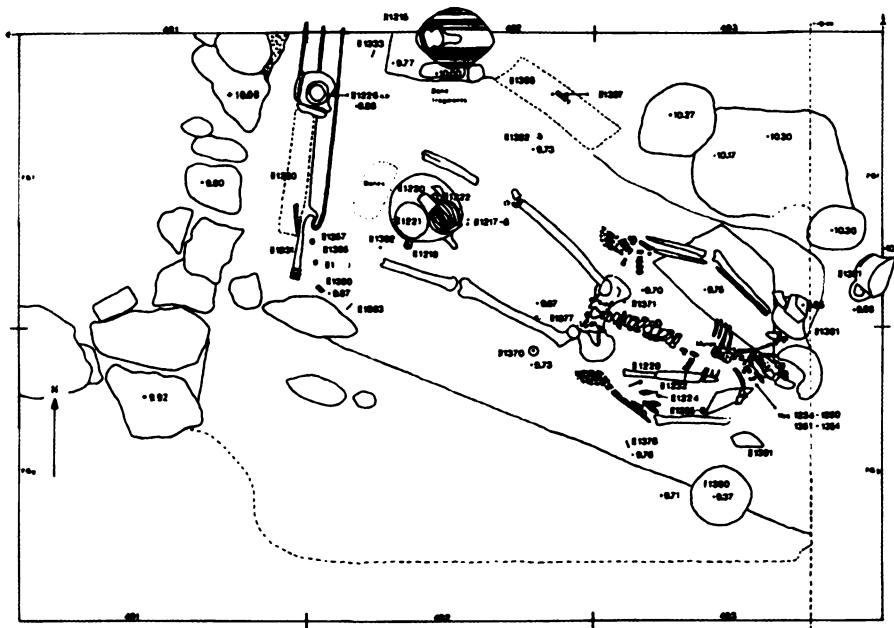


Fig. 1. Plan of the shaft grave at Hala Sultan Tekke. Scale according to the grid system: 492 = 1 m. (Drawing by Lennart Åström).

lysed by Carola Schulte-Campbell.<sup>10</sup> In the opening lines of her article she stated that we had discovered "a single skeleton of a male who was in his late thirties or early forties at death." A piece of the left humerus had "marked muscle attachment", the shaft of the right femur was "large and robust". The robustness index of the clavicle could be determined; the mid-clavicular circumference was 46 mm.<sup>11</sup> The fragments of the pelvis did not indicate the age or sex of the skeleton. I have read Schulte-Campbell's report very carefully, but I cannot find that she expressly explains why she considered the skeleton to be male. Was she biased by our impression based on the finds? I have not been able to reach her in order to ask her to explain on which grounds she determined the skeleton to be male.

So which is the sex of the skeleton in the shaft grave? Is it a male with fe-

male attributes or a female with male attributes? I asked Peter Fischer for his opinion and he agrees with Schulte-Campbell that the skeleton shows male characteristics, although the latter did not specifically point them out. It is therefore almost certain that the skeleton is a male. I am not certain if the necklace was placed on the skeleton's chest or if it was worn around the neck spreading out on the chest. The find circumstances are recorded in detail on separate plans.<sup>12</sup> The excavation was very careful and all the soil was sieved. A few small gold beads and two earrings were found in the sieves from the soil near the skull. In the excavation report, Karin Niklasson only states that these objects were found in the sieves,<sup>13</sup> but she could have added that they came from the area around the skull. Both she and I supervised the excavation of the skull and the sieving of the soil

from precisely that area. For a full description of the grave goods I refer to the excavation report.<sup>14</sup> It should also be mentioned that the shaft grave was marked by a limestone block and an upright grinding stone usually associated with women.<sup>15</sup>

### Comments on the shaft grave from Hala Sultan Tekke

Louise Steel mentions the tomb as an example of a wealthy burial in the Late Cypriote IIIA period comparable to chamber tombs at Alasa and Evreti.<sup>16</sup> Priscilla Keswani points out the elite prestige character and richness of this tomb, which surpasses similar, contemporaneous tombs at Enkomi. She interprets the fact that chamber tombs are replaced by simple shaft graves in Late Cypriote III as "a decreasing scale of social participation and resource outlays in mortuary festivities".<sup>17</sup> She also treats the proliferation of shaft graves in LC III in a paper on dimensions of social hierarchy.<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the change from chamber tombs to shaft graves and pits I refer to a monograph on Late Cypriote shaft graves by Karin Niklasson Hägg.<sup>19</sup>

Diane Bolger presents a detailed analysis of the shaft grave in her book *Gender in Ancient Cyprus*.<sup>20</sup> From this and other chamber tombs elsewhere on Cyprus, she lists several male skeletons provided with jewellery that is traditionally attributed to women. Bolger points out that biological males are sometimes adorned with female attributes and that there are biological females buried with weapons usually attributed to men. For this phenomenon she uses the concept of "third gender". The man in the Tekke shaft grave was probably covered

with a purple shroud or garment, and he wore a gold necklace and gold earrings. These luxurious features may not classify him as a transvestite, but may have characterized him as belonging to the elite. The objects in the tomb, whether they were his personal belongings or not, shows his high place in society. Some of the grave goods are foreign; a scarab with the name of pharaoh Ramesses II, a ring with Mitannian motifs, a dagger of Levantine origin etc. Were they acquired during travels or had they arrived in Cyprus via trade? We do not know. It is interesting to note that the man had a murex shell (a purple shell) on his chest. Perhaps it indicates that he was involved in purple extraction? Some areas at Hala Sultan Tekke are covered in crushed purple shells. This man may have been a collector of purple shells, and he may have used the trident to catch octopuses.

It is interesting to note that flattened tops of skulls have been observed on both female and male adults.<sup>21</sup> Diane Bolger interprets this feature as a sign that the individual had a special status in society.<sup>22</sup> Jeffrey Schwartz believed that the function was to facilitate the carrying of heavy objects on the head rather than for beautification,<sup>23</sup> while Carola Schulte-Campbell considered that larger and more numerous skeletal collections were needed to determine if the purpose was functional or for beautification.<sup>24</sup>

#### A gold hoard at Hala Sultan Tekke

A gold hoard was found at Hala Sultan Tekke in one of the latest layers, dating from some time in the

first half of the 12th century BC.<sup>25</sup> It had probably been buried in the earth at a time of danger when the inhabitants had to leave the site, wanting to save their valuable objects in the ground. The hoard had probably been placed in a small bag of leather or cloth. It comprised agate, carnelian and picrolite pendants, faience beads, gold beads and pendants, gold earrings and a gold finger ring with the Egyptian female name Nebuwy inscribed on a scarab of lapis lazuli. The name Nebuwy occurs both in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom of Egypt. It is impossible to know if Nebuwy was the owner of the treasure or if the ring is an heirloom. Geoffrey T. Martin who deciphered the hieroglyphs on the ring, suggested that it could have been a gift to a Cypriote lady, sent from Egypt.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand it is possible that it belonged to a lady from Egypt who married a Cypriote. Bones of Nile perch were found in the area of the hoard, so perhaps Nebuwy treated her guests with fish from her homeland.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that this beautiful ring belonged to a woman. I asked an Egyptologist about this and I was told that finger rings for males were common in the early New Kingdom but less common at the end of the period. Apparently finger rings for women were rare. This is a matter worthy of further research.<sup>28</sup> It suggests that the ring belonged to a woman of high social status. The role of women in Late Bronze Age Cyprus is an interesting subject. In this context, it is worth mentioning that when Wenamun reached land after having shipwrecked outside Alasia, he was received by a queen named Hatuba.<sup>29</sup>

The gold pendants in the hoard

are of particular interest. The first pendant (Fig. 2) shows a woman with Egyptian wig, dressed in a kind of Minoan dress decorated with cross hatchings, not unlike Scotch tartan. I am not sure that the wig represents a Hathor's wig as has been suggested.<sup>30</sup> A Hathor head was reconstructed from fragmentary ivory pieces in Tomb I of MC III-LCIB at Toumba tou Skourou.<sup>31</sup> One of the gold crescent pendants in the Tekke hoard resembles Hathor curls. Similar pendants have been found elsewhere, for instance at Minet el Baida and at Tell el Ajkul.<sup>32</sup> There, we have Hathor curls shown on heads of naked female figures. A dressed female figure is shown seated on two of the pendants from Ugarit represented with long Egyptian wigs but without curls.<sup>33</sup>



Fig. 2. Gold pendant from Hala Sultan Tekke



Fig. 3. Gold pendant from Hala Sultan Tekke.

The second pendant in the hoard (Fig. 3) shows a naked young man not unlike an Archaic Greek kouros. He may have a codpiece but I do not believe that. He is standing upright with both hands raised in an adoration gesture. Naked males are very rare in Near Eastern prehistory. Men are depicted naked as prisoners (in a humiliating position) or as musicians.<sup>34</sup> Occasionally a young boy is shown naked in Egyptian art.<sup>35</sup> Horus is depicted naked on Horus stelai.<sup>36</sup> The Egyptian gods Min and Bes are naked phallos-figures.

A presumably male, naked figure (Fig. 4) is summarily scratched on a gold pendant from Tell Abu Hawam.<sup>37</sup> He is standing or walking left, the right arm is raised and bent at the elbow, and the left arm is hanging behind the back. It was found in a building of presumably religious character. Elisabeth Goring suggested to me that the pendant from Tell Abu Hawam and the pendants from Hala Sultan Tekke belonged together since the style, especially the technique of light incision, is similar.<sup>38</sup> A systematic study of representations of naked males in the Near Eastern prehistory remains to be made.

A fourth gold pendant in a similar style was found in the Ulu Burun shipwreck.<sup>39</sup> It is a dressed female figure almost in the same position as the figure on the Hala Sultan Tekke pendant. One arm is not bent upwards. On the dress there are some interesting dots. Dress and fashion in general

in the Late Bronze Age Levant have not yet been studied sufficiently.

Do the Tekke pendants have a relation to each other? Perhaps they depict a bride and bridegroom in adoration gestures. Or could they be a variation of the Ishtar-Tammuz and Aphrodite-Adonis motif? On a later gold pendant from Tel Miqne-Ekron the goddess Ishtar is depicted standing on a lion with an adorant in front of her.<sup>40</sup> Gold pendants usually depict a naked female who is interpreted as a goddess, Ishtar or Astarte, so it is most likely that the scenes on the Tekke pendants depict a goddess, maybe a goddess of love, and her lover.

### Summary

In this paper I have presented evidence from the Late Cypriote Bronze Age of a man provided with a gold necklace usually regarded to be an attribute of women. Diane Bolger calls this a 'third gender' phenomenon. The gold hoard with the ring inscribed with the Egyptian female name Nebuwya has been interpreted as belonging to an Egyptian woman who married a Cypriote. Since it is not accompanied by a skeleton, we cannot be sure. There is however no doubt about the sex of the figures represented on the two gold pendants from the hoard; a dressed female and a naked male.



Fig. 4. Gold pendant from Tell Abu Hawam.  
(Hamilton, R.W. 1934, 64, no. 416.)

## NOTES

- 1 Fischer 1986, 29, 42–43.
- 2 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 195, 197, fig. 72:5.
- 3 Fürst 1933, 48.
- 4 Fischer 1986, 38.
- 5 Hjortsjö 1947, 31.
- 6 Fischer 1986, 38.
- 7 Maier 1973, 192; Karageorghis & Maier 1984, 67 and n. 25; Maier & von Wartburg 1986, 59.
- 8 McFadden 1954, 133.
- 9 Niklasson 1988, 169–213.
- 10 Schulte-Campbell 1983.
- 11 However, Bass (1971, 103) writes that ‘... the accuracy of determining sex of an individual from the clavicle has met varying degrees of success – none of them high.’
- 12 Niklasson 1983, figs 419, 423, 430–432.
- 13 Niklasson 1983, 172.
- 14 Niklasson 1988, 169–213.
- 15 Niklasson 1983, 170, figs 420–422 and 533.
- 16 Steel 2004, 200.
- 17 Keswani 2004, 98, 116, 129, 142, 189, 241.
- 18 Keswani 1989, 49–86.
- 19 Hägg (Forthcoming).
- 20 Bolger 2002, 176ff.
- 21 Schwartz 1976, 90–92; Schulte-Campbell 1983; Bolger 2003, 140–144, 151–152.
- 22 Bolger 2003, 144.
- 23 Schwartz 1974, 158.
- 24 Schulte-Campbell 1983, 251–252. Cf. also Celia Bergoffen’s discussion on head-shaping due to the use of cradle-boards (this volume).
- 25 Åström 1983, 8–15. On Cypriote Bronze Age hoards, see Catling 1964, 278–298; Åström 1977; Matthäus & Schumacher-Matthäus 1986, 129–191.
- 26 Martin 1983, 247.
- 27 Åström 2006, 75.
- 28 Generally the authors of handbooks on ancient jewellery – Aldred 1971; Higgins 1961; Higgins 1980; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971; Ogden 1982; Wilkinson 1971 – are not particularly interested in specifying if the jewels were worn by men or women.
- 29 See e.g. Goedicke 1975.
- 30 Louca 2003, 172.

- 31 Vermeule & Wolsky 1977, 83–86; Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 332, figs 117–118.
- 32 Fischer 2004, 59.
- 33 Regarding these pendants, see e.g. McGovern 1985; Artzy 1994, 125; Kontomichali 2002, 191–208; Caubet & Yon 1991, 151 and 154.
- 34 Born 2006, 66, fig. 8; Groneberg 2006, 52; Sillamy 2006, 74.
- 35 Priese 1991, 34–35.
- 36 E.g. Bonnet 1971, 317–318.
- 37 Hamilton 1935, 64, no. 416, pl. XXXIX:1.
- 38 Åström 1983, 10, n. 5.
- 39 Bass et al. 1989, 4–6, fig. 5; Pulak 2005, 66, 597, no. 109.
- 40 Golani & Sass 1998, 71, fig. 14:2; Gitin & Golani 2001, 40, pl. 2–11.

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# CYPRIOTE ATHENA/ANAT: WARRIOR GODDESS OF THE KINGS

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## Thesis/Abstract

Greek sources since Homer have identified the island of Cyprus as Aphrodite's own.<sup>1</sup> Epigraphic evidence, however, records the worship of another goddess, Athena. Written in the official script of the island, the Cypriote syllabary, dedications to Athena are limited to two city-kingdoms only, Soloi (Vouni) and Idalion (Fig. 1). Happily, these sites were explored by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE), and thus have received scientific and systematic exploration and publication. Excavation reveals striking similarities in the physical arrangement of both sites, especially the royal acropoleis, in which the Athena *temenos* played a central role. This evidence reveals that the goddess Athena in her warrior aspect was uniquely the patron goddess of these two Cypriote kings. I will argue that the acropolis of Vouni was in fact the royal acropolis of the city-kingdom of Soloi.

The detail of excavation reveals striking similarities between the sites of Soloi/Vouni and Idalion, which could only have come from a close kinship between the founding clans and their rulers. The very similarities that mark out these two sites also separate them as unique among the

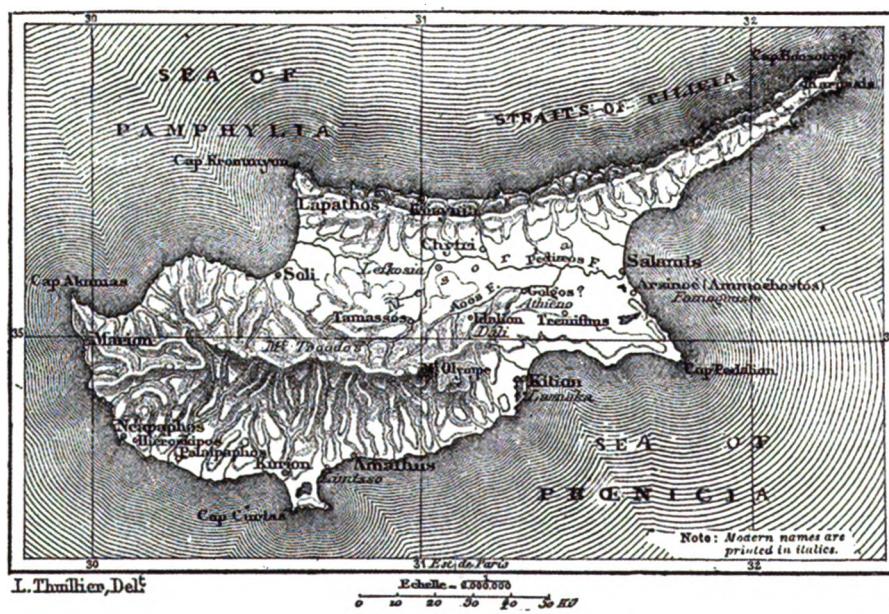


Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus (taken from Perrot & Chipiez 1885 II, fig. 70).

sites of ancient Cyprus. The two cities of Soloi and Idalion alone were built upon twin or double acropoleis. The western acropolis of both cities (Vouni and Ambelleri) shared distinctive features. The acropolis hill in both cases is oriented north-south, sloping sharply from a peak at the south downwards to the north. Further, the bounded acropolis space is carefully divided in the same way.

The southern slope was occupied by houses of the elite, north of which was situated a small, walled necropolis. Above the necropolis stood the royal palace complex. Separated from the rest of the acropolis, tucked behind the palace, at the very peak of the fortified hill, at both Vouni and at Idalion, was a temple whose inscriptions tell us was dedicated to the goddess Athena.<sup>2</sup>

## I. The city-kingdom of Soloi

### *The twin acropoleis of Vouni and Soloi*

The double acropoleis of Vouni and Soloi are located in the west-central area of the north coast of Cyprus.

Vouni, a colloquial Cypriote term meaning large hill or small mountain, is an isolated and visibly distinct hilltop rising directly from the sea around 4 miles west of its sister city of Soloi. Soloi is situated upon a low hill at the western terminus of the Mesaorea plain, which makes up central Cyprus. Each acropolis is easily visible from the other, sheltering between them a flat and fertile plain. The temple complex at Mersinaki is situated on the seashore almost exactly between the two acropoleis of this ancient city.<sup>3</sup> Inscribed dedications to Athena and cult iconography depicting this goddess are associated with all three sites.

#### A. The Vouni Acropolis

Although isolated and highly defensible, the hill of Vouni enjoyed easy geographical communications with the Mesaorea plain, the Klarios river, the sea, and, most especially, a direct path to the mountainous interior, where copper-rich mines are located.<sup>4</sup> Excavations showed that this hilltop was fortified by a wall with towers; these ramparts followed the natural contours of the plateau.<sup>5</sup> The acropolis was 400 meters wide in the south, twice the width of the northern area. The summit at the southern end of the Vouni acropolis consists of a finger of land, only 50–60 meters wide, which juts out from the middle of the acropolis hill; it has an elevation of 268 meters. From this height, the hill slants sharply downwards to the north to a bluff or cliff, 150 meters high, over which the hill plunges



Fig. 2. Vouni hill, as seen from the acropolis of Soloi. (Gjerstad et al. 1937, 79, fig. 31.)

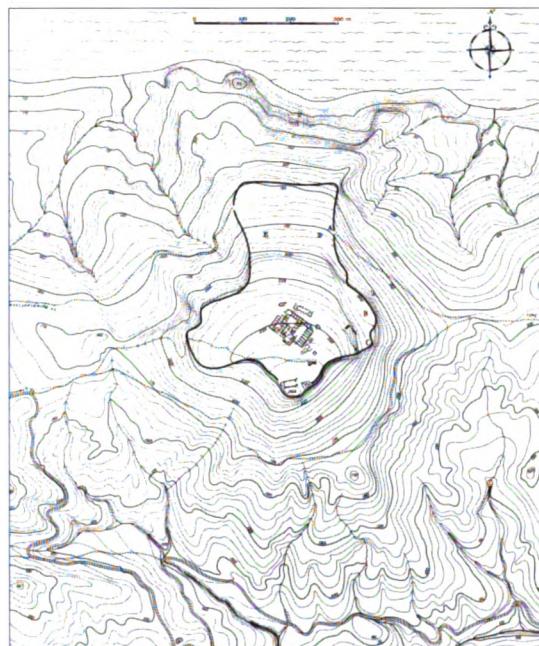


Fig. 3. Topographical map of Vouni acropolis with architectural remains of the Athena sanctuary, the palace, the entry gates and the roads. (Gjerstad et al. 1937, Plan VII.)

precipitously down to the sea (Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>6</sup>

#### *The Temple of Athena*

Due to the steepness of the hillside to the south of the acropolis bluff, much of the temple of Athena has washed away; only the lowermost portions of the walls were left, with little soil remaining undisturbed. Within the

sacred precinct, near to the western rampart wall, is a rectangular courtyard, generally east-west in orientation, enclosed by large walls 2.2 meters thick. This seems to have been the original core of the sanctuary complex; the thickness of these walls, more than twice that of any other wall in the sanctuary complex, suggest that "they are meant for enclosing

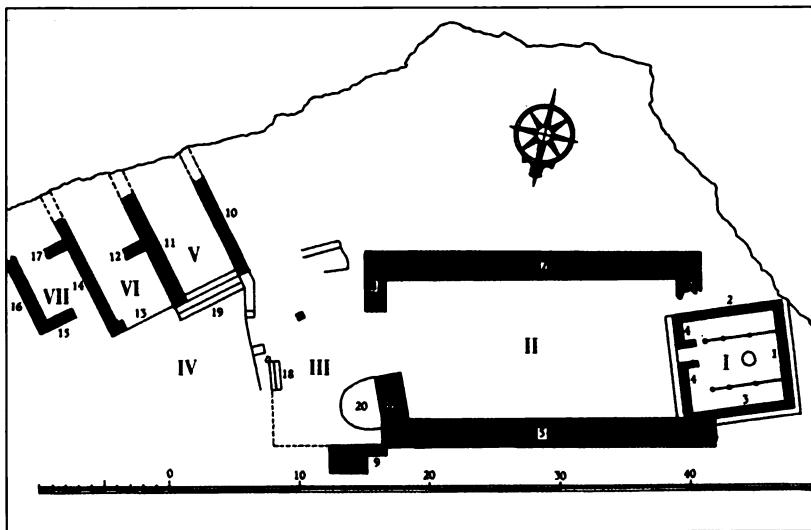


Fig. 4. Conjectural, reconstructed sketch of the Athena sanctuary at Vouni in its latest phase. (Gjerstad et al. 1937, 94, fig. 47.)

an artificial plateau or terrace".<sup>7</sup> A small, tripartite shrine room was later appended to the west (Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> Opposite the doorway, across the room, intersecting circular holes indicate the placement of an altar or a cult statue or device. The southern room of the sanctuary was used for storing offerings, either upon shelves or hanging on the walls.<sup>9</sup>

The roof of the shrine building alone was tiled, with terracotta antefixes at the end of each tile.<sup>10</sup> Situated as it was on the very summit of Vouni acropolis, the roof of the shrine building would have been visible from quite a distance,<sup>11</sup> from the sea as well as from land. Visibility would have been further increased by the use of a reflective material on the roof, such as, perhaps, polished examples of the strips of bronze and silver, which were so abundant among the finds of this small sanctuary.<sup>12</sup>

Across the courtyard opposite the shrine room is the only access into this walled area, a monumental entry

way almost 4 meters wide, which divides the east wall in two parts.<sup>13</sup> This entryway leads into an open forecourt, which held a circular altar and statue bases. To the south, the forecourt was enclosed by "a fence or screen, the foundations of which are traceable in the rock".<sup>14</sup> This forecourt offered the only access to the very summit of the hill, between the sanctuary wall and the city wall, a space deliberately left undeveloped

and open-air. Plutarch records the fact that the priestess of Athena at Soloi was known as 'She who Kindles the Fire', in honor of the special sacrifices performed to ward off evil.<sup>15</sup> One wonders if these fires were kindled at the altar of the forecourt, or if perhaps this open-air space was reserved for that ritual.

Appended to the southeast corner and outside of the forecourt is a three-roomed building used as a treasury, where votive offerings were stored.<sup>16</sup>

The architectural plan of the temple of Athena consists of a series of bounded, enclosed spaces in which movement is controlled and numbers regulated. Less accessible than even the shrine room is the open-air space at the summit of the acropolis itself. Outside of the sanctuary walls to the south, enclosed by the city wall, it appears that this area was reserved for special cult activities (Fig. 5). Both the inscribed objects were found here. One is a shallow marble font, used in cult ritual. Zowalios dedicated this object, but the middle of the inscription, which would carry the name of the deity, is missing. Happily, the

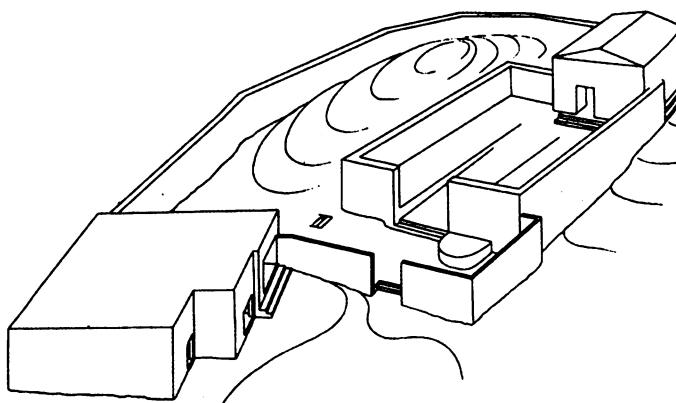


Fig. 5. Surrounded by the sanctuary and city walls, this drawing shows the deliberate openness of this area. (Gjerstad et al. 1937, 94, fig. 47.)

other inscription, on the lip of a bronze cup, provides this information, telling us that the goddess Athena was worshipped here.<sup>17</sup>

### Offerings to Athena

Metal is sacred to the Cypriote Athena, with bronze being preferred. At Vouni, the great majority of the 120+ finds are bronze, and include spearheads, arrowheads, votive arrows made of solid bronze, pikes, rods, discs, sheets, strigils, chisels, nails, pins, rivets, staples, rings, bracelets, fish hooks, beads, ladles, and bowls. Iron weapons were also found.

Bulls, too, were special to this goddess. The shrine room contained three bronze statuettes of bulls, two of a bull being attacked by two lions, and another of a bull striding (Fig. 6). This was a rich temple, as strips of silver and gold, as well as silver and gold

needles, and pieces of gold jewelry, have been found.<sup>18</sup>

### Dating of the Athena temple complex

The ceramic assemblage dates from 475–325 BC. Many of the cult offerings, including the bronze sculptures and cult statues are dated to the fifth century. There are no finds later than the end of the fourth century.<sup>19</sup> A rich foundation pit beneath the south wall of the courtyard does indicate earlier cult activity. A coin of the late 6th century was a stray surface find.<sup>20</sup>

#### *The palace, open courtyard, and tombs*

More than 150 meters northward, down the slope from the temple of Athena, is the great palace complex with its satellite of cult buildings. The palace area was not separated from the sanctuary of Athena by any kind

of wall or other construction. Rather, the open space between the palace and the sanctuary seems to have been a public area, with direct access through the western road leading into Vouni, and, from the eastern side, towards Soloi, through a complex series of rock-cut staircases ascending from a plateau 50 meters below.<sup>21</sup>

The palace and the Athena sanctuary were separated from the remainder of the walled acropolis by a “strong, high terraced wall”.<sup>22</sup> The height of the wall and steepness of the slope would effectively hide this area from view below. The palace complex was further divided from the habitation quarters of the lower city by a large necropolis, whose rock cut tombs extend from one side of the acropolis to the other.<sup>23</sup>

#### *The lower city*

The northern plateau of the enclosed Vouni acropolis is known today as Loures, probably because of the rock-cut cisterns in this area. The slope here is precipitous and houses were placed on narrow terraces running east-west; the SCE excavated only two. Both were quite large, multi-story buildings with elite architectural features, including elaborate column bases. They are described as “of a similar construction as the palace”.<sup>24</sup> The main road from Soloi entered the walled acropolis through a gate at the southeast corner of Loures. These buildings suggest the habitations of a very small number of elites.

### Dating of the palace and lower city

The earliest sherds found in the palace date to the latest part of Cypro-Archaic II (600–475 BC). All sherds



Fig. 6. The bronze sculpture of a bull striding found in the cella of the temple of Athena at Vouni. (Gjerstad et al. 1937, Pl. XLIII, inv. no. V. 152.)

of early dates were found beneath the floors, concentrated to the south-west quadrant of the later palace complex and represent an earlier building phase. The latest building period is assigned to Cypro-Classical II, 400–325 BC,<sup>25</sup> at which time this fortified citadel was violently destroyed. Anticipation of this destruction would explain the large treasure of gold and silver objects and coins found beneath one of the major staircases. Ceramic and numismatic evidence dates the destruction of Vouni to ca. 380 BC.

#### *Modern Vouni as ancient Aipeia*

Plutarch records that, during his perambulations, the Athenian lawgiver Solon came to Cyprus and stayed with King Philokypros. Plutarch describes Philokypros' city as strong, but incommodious, and he gives its name as Aipeia, which may be a toponym or just a physical description of the site, 'lofty, the heights'. Solon persuaded Philokypros to move his fortified city to the more pleasant plain below. In appreciation, the new city was named Soloi in his honor.<sup>26</sup>

There is no doubt that this story is apocryphal. Over a half-century after Solon's visit, Herodotus observed that Soloi proved to be the strongest city in Cyprus, having withstood five months of Persian siege.<sup>27</sup> Strategically speaking, such a feat could not have been accomplished by the Classical city of this name situated on a low-lying hill. We therefore must look to the citadel upon Vouni for the location of Herodotus' Soloi.

The Swedish excavators, however, do not agree. They knowingly chose a minority scholarly opinion when they followed Pockock in rejecting the identification of Vouni with ancient

Aipeia.<sup>28</sup> Pockock, travelling in 1745, would identify a village called Epe, in the mountains above Soloi, as the ancient Aipeia. Unlike Vouni, no archaeological remains for this proposed site have been found. The Swedes argue, however, that Vouni could not be Plutarch's Aipeia as no pre-fifth century objects have been found upon this hill.

Indeed, the Swedes argue that the citadel of Vouni did not belong to the city-kingdom of Soloi at all. The Swedes rejected the idea that the Persians would have allowed the king of Soloi to rebuild a citadel in the very area that had recently proven so difficult to subdue. The Swedish excavators interpret Cypriote political events as dictated by underlying ethnic tensions between the Greek-speakers and all eastern peoples. When searching for the builders of Vouni, the Swedes note that the Athenian Kimon reduced the city of Marion.<sup>29</sup> The reason for the Athenian attack, they argue, could only have been Marion's pro-Persian policies. The palace at Vouni appears foreign to the excavators, its architectural style regarded as "Oriental in character";<sup>30</sup> thus, they argue, "it was a non-Hellenic minded king who built it".<sup>31</sup> Having deduced that neighboring Marion was politically Oriental, i.e. pro-Persian, the Swedes conclude that the rulers of Marion must have built the palace at Vouni: "a medophile dynast of the neighbouring kingdom of Marion was allowed, or even ordered by the Persians, to build the palace, in order to hold in check the rebellious, anti-Persian Soli".<sup>32</sup> As support, they point to the presence of ca. 150 coins from Marion among the 248 found in the Vouni treasure. The Swedes explain

the destruction of Vouni as the result of an armed uprising of the people of Soloi against their Marionite overlords.<sup>33</sup> The Swedish reconstruction of the history of Vouni is widely accepted, and often treated as certain.<sup>34</sup>

Maier rightly points out several weaknesses in these arguments.<sup>35</sup> First, not all actions and events need to be interpreted as the result of internecine conflict. Indeed, outside of modern scholarship, there is no evidence for ethnic or racial divide on the island. Rather, an active intermingling of the cultures is seen, with families having members carrying both Semitic and Greek personal names.<sup>36</sup> Maier points out that Kimon's attack on Marion might have been prompted solely by strategic considerations, as Marion was the harbor of easiest access from Asia Minor. Further, comparative analysis with other coin hoards illustrates that mint types are in no way reflective of political domination: "The inhabitant of the palace who dumped this hoard under a staircase could well have amassed Marion coins for reasons in no way connected with the person of the then ruler of the palace".<sup>37</sup> Maier cautions, quite correctly, that "it would seem more than rash to deduce details of political history from the ground plan of royal residences".<sup>38</sup>

Finally, Maier points out that there is "not the slightest hint in our sources to suggest an attack of Soloi on the palace".<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the turbulent political times of that period offer several opportunities in which the palace could have been destroyed. Maier cites Evagoras' actions against Soloi and Marion in 391 BC as one such example. Furthermore, the coin hoard need not have been buried immediately

after the latest coin was added. If so, another opportunity for the destruction of the Vouni acropolis came in 351 BC, with the revolt of the Cypriote city kingdoms in tandem with the Phoenician cities against Persia.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the popularity of the arguments of the Swedish excavators, the identification of the citadel of Vouni as built by the pro-Persian dynasty of Marion rests upon mere speculation. The Swedes have ignored the glaring similarities with the acropolis of Idalion.<sup>41</sup> Lack of earlier archaeological material on the Vouni acropolis may be a result of the Persian destruction of the citadel in 498 BC. The debris would have been thrown over the bluff in preparation of rebuilding. There would have been no need to call in a neighboring city-kingdom to watch over the subdued Soloi, an obliging faction within the city itself would serve the same purpose. Pocock's arguments are weak, as the toponym Aipeia would be a common one in this mountainous district. For these reasons, then, there is little doubt that the acropolis at modern Vouni is to be identified with the ancient Aipeia, one of two acropoleis for the ancient city kingdom known as Soloi. Vouni served as the fortified home of the king and his private cult of Athena.

### B. The city of Soloi

Following the fourth century destruction of Aipeia, the administration moved down from the citadel to Soloi, situated on a low hill on the plain below. Earlier remains at Soloi are obliterated by later remains, for this was a large city in the Roman period, and continued in use until the Byzantine era.<sup>42</sup> It is not known from which acropolis King Stasikrates,

son of King Stasiyas, ruled, for he is unknown outside of his dedication to Athena.<sup>43</sup> Inscribed in black marble and written in both the Cypriote syllabary and the Greek alphabet, these attributes of medium and script combined with that of dialect, suggest that King Stasikrates ruled in the city on the plain below.

Archaeology offers tantalizing hints that the royal cult of Athena was practiced on the eastern acropolis much as it had been on the western one. The Swedish excavators did indeed find the remains of a sanctuary atop Soloi, but so scanty that the orientation of the building and its general layout are not certain. Immediately below this sanctuary is a large building, which the excavators believe may be the palace of this acropolis. If correct, then the internal organization of the acropolis of Soloi mirrors that of Vouni, emphasizing its ritual

importance. The excavators date the sanctuary to the Cypro-Archaic period. If correct, this temple at the summit of Soloi acropolis would have been in use when the fortifications of Vouni hill were being organized and built.<sup>44</sup>

### C. The sanctuary of Mersinaki

Mersinaki is the modern name for the area half-way between the two acropoleis where an ancient sanctuary was found by the sea. This appears to be a public sanctuary dedicated to a number of deities. Out of more than 500 objects found here, only 7 were of bronze. The remainder was terracotta and stone sculptures of which only five could be identified as deities. A marble plaque represents Athena in low relief. Athena is also represented mounting a chariot drawn by four horses (Fig. 7). Three statues are believed to represent Apollo.<sup>45</sup> Eight

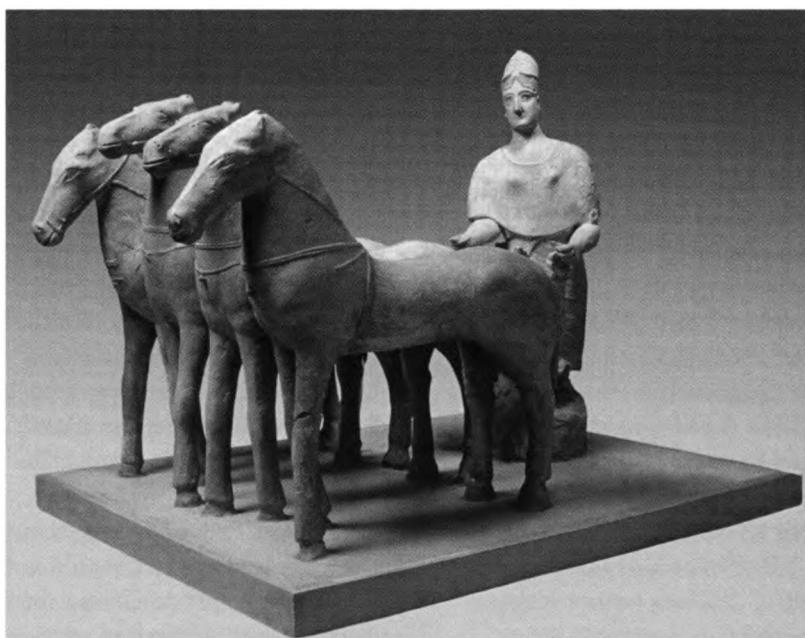


Fig. 7. Athena Promachos mounting her four-horse war chariot.  
From the sanctuary of Mersinaki near Soloi.

inscriptions were found at Mersinaki, two syllabic, six alphabetic. Both syllabic inscriptions are dedications, one to Apollo, the other to an unnamed deity.<sup>46</sup> The alphabetic inscriptions include dedications to Arsinoë Philadelphos, to Ptolemy, Athena, Apollo, and an unnamed deity.<sup>47</sup>

The earliest finds from the sanctuary of Mersinaki are contemporary with those from Vouni, and continued beyond the destruction of the citadel. The sanctuary at Mersinaki was destroyed and abandoned around the first part of the second century BC.<sup>48</sup>

## II. The city-kingdom of Idalion

### *Inscriptions to Athena*

Two bronze objects inscribed with Cypriote syllabic dedications to Athena have been found at Idalion, modern D(h)ali. One, due to its length and ease of reading, is the single most celebrated inscription in the Cypriote syllabary. Known as the 'Bronze of Idalion',<sup>49</sup> this inscription records the contractual agreement by King Stasikypros and the city of Idalion with a physician and his brothers for the treatment of wounded soldiers. After much discussion, this attack upon Idalion is dated by numismatics to around 450–445 BC.<sup>50</sup>

The second inscribed object is a lance butt, dedicated by a king.<sup>51</sup> Although the dedication to Athena is written out, the king's name and title are abbreviated in the same way as found on his coinage,<sup>52</sup> which attests that he ruled immediately before Stasikypros, ca. 470–460 BC.<sup>53</sup> The name of this king cannot yet be reconstructed.

Both inscriptions are dedicated to the Athena of Idalion. The contents



Fig. 8. Ambelleri, the western acropolis of Idalion.  
(Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461, fig. 191.)

of the Bronze of Idalion states that it was ritually deposited within this shrine.

### B. The Archaeology of Idalion

#### *The location of the sanctuary of Athena in Idalion*

These inscriptions were among a large cache of metal objects found by the local villagers in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>54</sup> Scholars cognizant of the evidence for this discovery accept the established provenance of the inscribed bronze.<sup>55</sup> Lack of historiographical discussion concerning this discovery has led other scholars, unfamiliar with the circumstances of discovery, to express their doubts.<sup>56</sup> The primary testimony comes from L. Cesnola, a Cypriote archeologist (in)famous for his penchant for exaggeration, even prevarication.<sup>57</sup> What makes Cesnola's account believable in this instance is

the fact that it is substantiated by his bitter enemy, Ohnefalsch-Richter,<sup>58</sup> who would never hesitate to criticize Cesnola if the opportunity arose.<sup>59</sup> Both men spoke to the excavators of these objects, and their stories agree: they were found at the summit of the western acropolis hill of Ambelleri (Fig. 8). Masson and Szyncer agree that "on doit accepter la tradition".<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the objects inscribed in the syllabary, two silver paterae, a heap of iron swords, and a number of bronze objects, including weapons such as axes, shields, and arrowheads, elite items such as horse blinkers, and ritual cult items, are preserved.<sup>61</sup> Three objects carry short Phoenician inscriptions: a matched set of horse blinkers,<sup>62</sup> and a second bronze lance butt.<sup>63</sup> All three objects were dedicated to Anat. Much of this cache, however, was lost, such as the ten

silver paterae that were melted down by the villagers.<sup>64</sup> The two surviving paterae indicate the richness of these objects (Fig. 9, 10).

#### *The cult place of Athena/Anat*

The ancient city of Idalion consisted of three primary parts, the eastern acropolis of Mouti tou Arvili, the western acropolis of Ambelleri, and the lower town spread out at the northern foot of both.<sup>65</sup> The ancient city seems to have been organized around its cults, with the *temenos* of Athena/Anat on the western acropolis, the *temenos* of Aphrodite located almost directly opposite upon the eastern acropolis, and the sanctuary of Apollo-Resheph at the foot of the eastern acropolis on the plain below. The western acropolis had been excavated only by the villagers before the 1927–1931 Swedish Cyprus Excavations.<sup>66</sup>

Much more is known about the early history of Idalion than about Vouni. The western acropolis began to assume its unique shape in the 13th century BC, when the ramparts and cult building were erected on virgin soil.<sup>67</sup> Cult offerings include terracotta bulls, stone mace-heads, axes, glass beads, bronze needles and rings, earrings of bronze and gold, and seals.<sup>68</sup>

The archaeological gap from ca. 1050–850 is probably due to the accident of preservation, rather than abandonment.<sup>69</sup> Evidence for this fortified cult emerges again in the Cyro-Geometric period,<sup>70</sup> and continued uninterrupted down to the Phoenician conquest and destruction of the western acropolis.

In its last archaeological phase, that of the syllabic inscriptions, the *temenos* of Athena/Anat was a highly fortified complex (Fig. 11). The en-

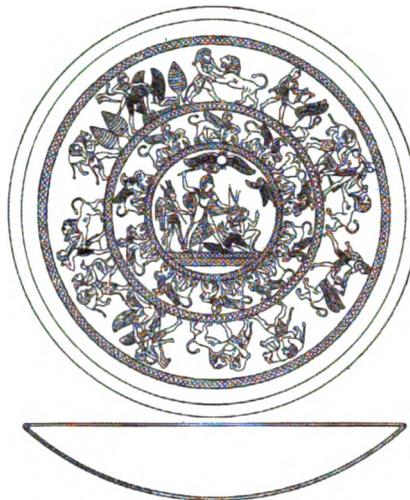


Fig. 9. The first of only two silver paterae of the Idalion treasure saved from destruction. (Perrot & Chipiez 1885 II, 349, fig. 270.)

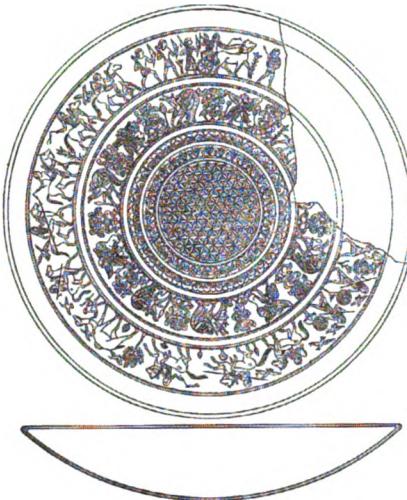


Fig. 10. The second of two silver paterae of the Idalion treasure saved from destruction. (Perrot & Chipiez 1885 II, 353, fig. 272.)

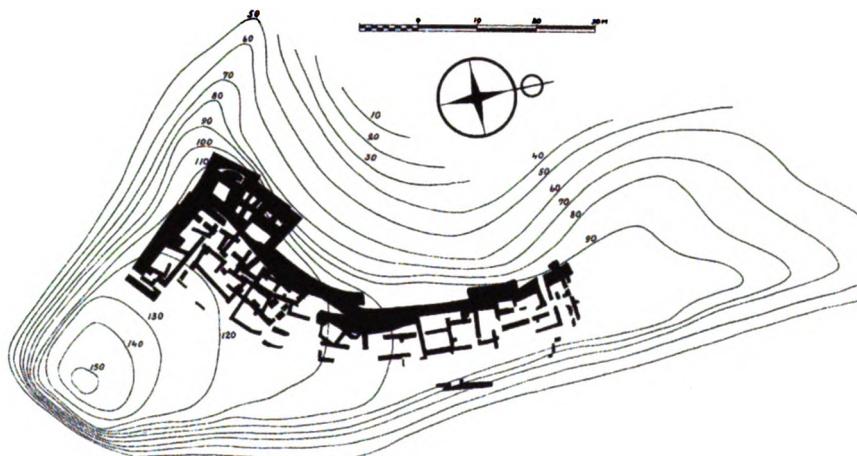


Fig. 11. Topographical map of Ambelleri acropolis with architectural remains of the Athena sanctuary, its cult buildings and storehouses. This plan indicates the openness of the area at the southeastern quadrant. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, Plan V.)

trance gate to the citadel is now in the southern wall, atop the precipitous slope. As at Vouni, movement is carefully controlled. The entryway is a mere 1.35 meters wide, funneling the visitor directly into a newly built gate

chamber, the roof of which was supported by the sole limestone column found.

Again like Vouni, the cult area of Athena/Anat boasted unique architectural features. In addition to the lime-

stone column of the gate chamber, the only remains of roof tiles from the Idalion acropolis are found here.<sup>71</sup> As at Vouni, the bull played a role in the cult. A bronze statuette of a rampant bull was found, and a stone mould of a striding bull with a channel for molten metal attests to bull reliefs having been being made.<sup>72</sup> As at Vouni, the very highest part at the southern end of the acropolis is left bare with no evidence of any cult building of any period in this area.<sup>73</sup> Offerings consist chiefly of tools and weapons.<sup>74</sup>

#### *The royal palace*

The American Expedition to Idalion concentrated upon the 'West Terrace', a six-acre enclosed area on the western side of the acropolis of Ambelleri, just below the cult area of Athena/Anat. An exploratory pipeline trench by the SCE had led Gjerstad to believe that a palace, or other large administrative structure, was located there.<sup>75</sup>

The American Expedition confirmed Gjerstad's suspicions. They found a monumental building with massive walls supported on thick stone bases. This building measures as much as 30 meters east-west, and at least 20 meters north-south; the western side of this large complex abuts the western citadel wall.<sup>76</sup> This building is described as the most massive and monumental architecture yet found at Idalion, designed and built as a "single, coherent architectural unit".<sup>77</sup> The American Expedition did not reach the founding levels of this

palace complex, however, they date the earliest use phases to the first half of the 5th century.<sup>78</sup> Although this rampart wall was extended in the early Classical period to include the lower city, the western acropolis continued to form a separate walled unit.<sup>79</sup>

#### *The necropolis*

Cesnola reports a large necropolis on the lower slopes of the acropolis of Ambelleri. This necropolis seemed to have separated the fortified acropolis from the residential area below.<sup>80</sup>

*The destruction of the western acropolis*  
The excavations by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus as well as the American Expedition to Idalion concur with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's in seeing early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC uses of the acropolis of Ambelleri come to an end in the middle of that century. These alterations are universally associated with the Phoenician conquest of the city.<sup>81</sup>

#### **Conclusions for the Cypriote Athena**

Syllabic evidence for the worship of Athena is limited to the two sites of Vouni and Idalion, located at each end of the Mesaoreia plain. These two sites duplicate to a remarkable degree a peculiar religious landscape found nowhere else in Cyprus. Such imitation can only be the result of a common origin.

It is obvious from the placement of the Athena temple in relation with

the palace that this cult was uniquely connected to the king. Dedications by kings at both sites reinforce this view as do the offerings in both temples, which consist of elite goods, such as silver paterae and horse-blinders, with an emphasis upon weapons. Further, limitations of space and imposed limitations of movement within these temples emphasize that these were in no way public cults. Lack of public access, however, bears no relation to visibility, for the position and decoration of both temples assured this edifice a prominent role in the local landscapes.

In Idalion, at least, we can trace that landscape back to the Late Bronze Age; we must assume such antiquity also for the cult of Vouni. When searching for the origin of what appears to be a unique cultural strand within Cyprus, we must note that this goddess is recognized both as Anat and as Athena. A good parallel to the aspects of this Cypriote goddess which archaeology has revealed is found in the literature of Ugarit, Cyprus' ancient and close friend. It is in the Ugaritic texts that the bloodthirsty aspect of the goddess Anat is most pronounced.<sup>82</sup> A deity whose liver delights in the blood of the slain enemy, who wears their severed hands and heads as decoration, and who wades to her knees in the blood and gore of battle, indeed would have served admirably as the 'Warrior Goddess of the Cypriote Kings'.

## NOTES

1 *Hom.Od.* 8.359-366; *Hom.Aph.* 5.53-67, 6.1-18; *Hes.The.* 188-200; *Theogn.* 1275-1278.

2 Walker & Stager (1989, 465) note these similarities as well.

3 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 75-77, 340-342, figs. 30 (Vouni), 31 (the view of Vouni from Soloi), 34 (the view of Soloi from the summit of Vouni), 188 (a second view of Mersinaki and Soloi from Vouni), 212 (a general view of the acropolis of Soloi).

4 *Plu.Sol.* XXVI.2-3. *Galen. de Temp. Fac. Simp. Med.* 9 (Kühn XII, 212) discusses the mines near Soloi.

5 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 78-79.

6 Gjerstad et al. 1937, Plan VII, figs. 32-33.

7 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 91.

8 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 87-88, 91-97, fig. 47.

9 Could the ritual requirements of this display area account for the displacement of the doorway to the shrine slightly to the south of center?

10 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 98-101, nos. 153 a-c, 201, 209.

11 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 82, 91, 97, 98, 100, 101, 108, and 109.

12 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 106-107.

13 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 88, fig. 47.

14 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 90-95, Plan VIII, fig. 47.

15 *Plu.Mor.* 292 A.

16 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 85-88, 93-95, 97, Plan VIII, fig. 47; Gjerstad 1948, 15-16.

17 The marble bowl, Gjerstad et al. 1937, 99 no. 164, 633 no. 1; Masson 1961, 213-214, no. 204. Bronze cup fragment, Gjerstad et al. 1937, 100 no. 183, 633 no. 2; Masson 1961, 214, no. 205.

18 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 97-109 for a list of the objects found in the Temple of Athena and a brief discussion.

19 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 103, 110-111.

20 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 102, nos. 227-230, 103, 109-111.

21 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 77, 79-85, Plan VII.

22 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 81.

23 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 81-85.

24 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 77, 291.

25 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 283-284, fig. 119.

26 *Plu.Sol.* 26.2-4.

27 *Hdt.* 5.104-116.

28 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 75. As the Swedish excavators themselves note, Cesnola, Ohnefalsch-Richter and Oberhammer accept Plutarch's identification.

29 *Dio.* 12.2-4.6.

30 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 287.

31 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 287.

32 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 287.

33 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 286-288.

34 Hill 1940, 119; Tatton-Brown 1982, 92-93, 96-99; Masson 1961, 213 n. 2.

35 Maier 1985.

36 Bazemore 2002.

37 Maier 1985, 37.

38 Maier 1985, 37.

39 Maier 1985, 37.

40 Maier 1985, 35-37; *Dio.* 16.42, 46.1-3.

41 Walker & Stager (1989, 465) too note these similarities in denying the control of Vouni by Marion.

42 *Strab.* 14.6; Hill 1940, 231, 238, 262, 269. Soloi is attested in a list of Cypriote cities of 535 AD.

43 Masson 1961, 218-220, no. 212, this inscription was found in Larnaca.

44 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 412-413; Gjerstad 1948, 12; followed by Masson 1961, 399, s.v. P. 220.

45 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 354, no. 659 (relief plaque of Athena); 364-365, no. 814 (Athena's chariot group); 357-358, no. 703 (Apollo?); 378, no. 1069 (male figure with lyre, Apollo?); 378 no. 1070 (Apollo?).

46 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 360 no. 751, 637; Masson 1961, 216, no. 209; Gjerstad et al. 1937, 379 no. 1100, 637-638; Masson 1961, 216-217, no. 210 dedicated to Apollo.

47 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 360 no. 740, 621 no. 2; 378 no. 1080, 622 no. 6; 379 no. 1089, 623 no. 7; 366 no. 839, 622 no. 4; 360 no. 750, 622 no. 3; 376 no. 1037, 622 no. 5, respectively.

48 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 393-398.

49 E.g. Masson 1961, 235-244, no. 217.

50 Gjerstad et al. (1935, 624-626) initially proposed a date of 499/8, opposed by Hill (1940, 153-155) who arrives at the date of 450-445 on the basis of numismatic evidence. This prompts Gjerstad (1948, 479-80, with n. 5; Gjerstad 1979, 240, with n. 1) to revise his dating to ca. 470. Gjerstad's revised dating was followed by Masson 1961, 238; Mitford 1971, 381 note 18; 1980, 176, s.v. no. 236; Tatton-Brown 1989, 134; Karageorghis 1998, 107. However, recently Marvin (1974, XXII-XXVI), Walker & Stager (1989, 464-465), and Nicolaou (1989, 450, 456) have revived Hill's dating.

51 Earlier believed to be a scepter-head or mace (Perrot and Chipiez 1885, 95 fig. 72, 415-7; Masson 1961, 245, no. 218), this object is now recognized as a lance butt (Masson & Sznycer 1972, 110 following Richter 1939, 194-198).

52 Masson (1961, 245, no. 218; 1966, 3-5) reads these signs as a *hapax legomenon*. Masson's reading is followed by Egtmeyer (1992, 125 s.v.) 'pa-ka-ra'.

53 Masson (1961, 251, no. 227) following Gjerstad's chronology, dates this king to 490-480; Hill (1940, 153-55), Marvin (1974, XXII-XXVIII), and Walker & Stager (1989, 464-465) would date this king to 470-460.

54 Masson 1961, 19, 233; this discovery is believed to have occurred in 1849.

55 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 462; Masson 1961, 233-234.

56 Hill 1940, 153. Walker & Stager 1989, 464; see also Marvin 1974, XXV. Ulbrich's (2005, 200) garbled account of this important event highlights the need for a general discussion.

57 Cesnola 1878, 97-98. See Hogarth (1889, 18-19, n. 1) for a contemporary condemnation.

58 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 6, 15, 16, 18, 47-49, 200-202, 341 Plate II, 343.

59 Ohnefalsch-Richter, *The New York Times*, October 24, 1885; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 7.

60 Masson & Sznycer 1972, 108.

61 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 15, 18-20; Perrot & Chipiez 1885 II, 415-418 figs. 357-360; Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, 295.

62 Perrot & Chipiez (1885 II, 415–416, fig. 357) for the right blinker only; Masson & Sznycer 1972, 108–110 no. 10 a; Lipinski 1986, 379–82, 421–22.

63 Masson & Sznycer 1972, 110–11; Lipinski (1995, 310) would add ‘and Ba’al’.

64 Perrot & Chipiez 1885 II, 349 fig. 270, 353 fig. 272, 1885 III, 771 note 1; Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, 295; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 49–50, fig. 51.

65 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461.

66 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 462. Cesnola (1878, 97) made many borings.

67 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 462, 479–80, 516–17. See also Stager & Saltz 1974, XXIX; Alin 1978, 108–109; Hadjicosti 1997, 50–51.

68 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 593.

69 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 624–625; Stager 1974b, 59; Hadjicosti 1997, 53–54. Alin (1978, 108–109) does not agree.

70 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 524–525, 593, 595, 624; Gjerstad 1948, 5–9; Alin 1978, 108–109.

71 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 490–491, 528–532.

72 Gjerstad et al. 1935, plate CLXXXV nos. 15–16 object 1283, plate CLXXIX nos. 14–15 object 290, plate CLXXXIV nos. 13–14 object 941, respectively.

73 Gjerstad et al. 1935, Plan V; Stager & Saltz 1974, XXIX, fig. 1.

74 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 532, 595–597.

75 Stager 1974, 50; Stager et al. 1989, 5.

76 Stager et al. 1989, 6–7, 12–13.

77 Stager et al. 1989, 12.

78 Stager et al. 1989, 6–7, 12.

79 Stager et al. 1989, 13–14, 18, 462–463.

80 Cesnola 1878, 96–97; Walker & Stager 1989, 465–466.

81 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 625–628; Stager 1974, 51–56; Stager et al. 1989, 12–13; Hadjicosti 1997, 57–60.

82 So too Serwint (2002) looks to the Near East in her comparisons to Cypriote Aphrodite. For the attributes of Anat, see, *inter alia*, Kapelrud 1969; Cassuto 1951; Caquot & Sznycer 1980, 8–9, 12–21; Walls 1992; Serwint 2002, 337–343.

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## AYIA IRINI IN THE IRON AGE: REALM OF BAAL AND/OR ASTARTE?

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This anonymous sanctuary is reputed for its masses of votive statuary, mainly terracottas, of various sizes (Fig. 1). Since epigraphic evidence is lacking within the *temenos*, attention has focused on the masculine repertoire of soldiers and bulls and the consciousness of possible war, violence and death. It is true that bulls have been seen as symbols of endurance and fertility, but must the religious or cultic realm necessarily be run solely by a male deity?<sup>1</sup> A new perspective on the statuary as well as a look at scarabs and similar seals brought to the sanctuary suggest other possibilities.

The present paper may seem provocative, but it is nevertheless my conviction that not all the gender and other aspects of this cult have been scrutinised. That it served a local community and population in a rural environment both in the Late Bronze Age and between chiefly the 8th and 6th centuries BC is clear. The small nearby settlement was noted already



Fig. 1. Ayia Irini votive terracottas in Medelhavsmuseet (old exhibition), Stockholm.

by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE) and is of much later, Hellenistic, date.<sup>2</sup> The votive statuary, which includes few stone or metal statuettes, indicates that it was not the most sophisticated people that came here. Or else they needed divine blessings promptly and had no time for stone statuary to be carved. However, several of the larger pieces at Ayia Irini display a personal or individual design and do not seem mass-produced.

The terracotta votive statuary is predominantly non-Greek: the soldiers have strong Near Eastern and/or Phoenician links. Sylvia Törnvist demonstrated that weapons and armour was of Near Eastern types.<sup>3</sup> So are details of physiognomy and "attributes", such as the single "pellet" some of the men from Ayia Irini display on the forehead.<sup>4</sup> They have earlier been attributed by others as well as by myself to Phoenician attire,<sup>5</sup> a distinguishing mark of some members of the Phoenician ethnicity.<sup>6</sup> Both infantry and warriors in chariots are represented among the terracotta figures and in some cases their horses wear breast-plates with attached "symbols of Astarte", the crescent and sun-disc.<sup>7</sup> Was it placed there as a general protection for the horses, as Astarte was a well-known protector of these animals,<sup>8</sup> or did it have a double meaning assuming that Astarte herself was present in the sanctuary?

The male figure carrying an Egyptian *ankh* or sign of life,<sup>9</sup> described by Einar Gjerstad as "Ethiopian", because of his fleshy or "Negroid" lips, could be any African trading in Cyprus or somehow connected with the Phoenicians. The latter are known to freely use the *ankh* in their designs.

Some of the votaries carry sacri-

ficial animals, such as goats,<sup>10</sup> others carry undistinguishable animals, perhaps also goats or sheep. In the Late Bronze Age period only bloodless sacrifices were performed in the sanctuary, but that changed in Geometric times. Evidence for this practice is the remains of animal bones among the sacrificial waste.<sup>11</sup>

And the numerous bulls, are they the epiphany of a male god, or just the image of the animals which the votaries (cattle owners, small scale farmers or shepherds?) wished to have protected? If people depended on their cattle, a good harvest was important, both to feed themselves and their herds between grazing seasons. Wishes for fertile soil, fertile animals and safety from enemy hands certainly appear frequently in the sanctuary. However, from the late Cypro-Geometric period onwards the bulls seem to be less frequent.<sup>12</sup>

Other votive creatures belong to undefined genders such as the bisexual "minotaurs", with male animal body and an additional upper human body with female traits such as distinctive breasts and womanly coiffure (see book cover),<sup>13</sup> that become noticeable in the Cypro-Archaic I period. Usually the animals are bulls, but some slender bodies are more reminiscent of horses.<sup>14</sup>

A unique composite figure has the body of a quadruped, with a horse-type tail, and demon-like bearded male head with short horns protruding between the ears, furrowed forehead and a longish face.<sup>15</sup> The head is reminiscent of Phoenician demons that usually occur as separate heads on pendant amulets<sup>16</sup> or decorative attachments as on the ivory bed A from Tomb 79 at Salamis.<sup>17</sup>

But who was in charge? No obvious cult image has been noted at Ayia Irini, but the large ovoid stone associated with the altar has been interpreted as the cult object: a betyl, the house of the spirit of the god or goddess in several Near Eastern cults.<sup>18</sup> It could have various shapes, but the most famous is the large conical stone of Astarte at Paphos.<sup>19</sup>

## Women

Few ordinary women appear to have visited the sanctuary, unless it was they who brought the figures of soldiers with the intention of asking the divinity for a safe return of husbands, sons and other beloved male friends or relatives.

However, a few female representations (and I leave aside the partly theriomorphic and dual-sexed images) are often thought to be images of goddesses. These are the woman standing with uplifted arms of Cretan/Aegean inspiration wearing a *polos*-like head-gear pinched into an upright board (Fig. 2: a-c), a similar statuette missing its pellet eyes and possibly also its head-gear (Fig. 3), the one with a coiling snake at the back and a painted beard (Fig. 4: a-c), a similar headless one carrying a shield (Fig. 5: a-b), an unpublished female statuette wearing elongated "polos" (Fig. 6), and a standing naked female with her arms along the sides and a necklace as only ornament (Fig. 7: a-b), a so-called Astarte-plaque. The hair of the latter is parted in the middle and falls down behind the ears to about shoulder-length. She has a protruding nose and the overall physiognomy is reminiscent of female statuettes from Arsos and Amathous.<sup>20</sup> This type generally dates to the



Fig. 2, a-c. A.I. 2804, h. 10.5 cm.



Fig. 3. A.I. 1734, h. 14 cm.

7th-6th century BC and the Ayia Irini plaque thus belongs to the Cypro-Archaic I-II period.<sup>21</sup>

The second statuette (A.I. 1734), has the uplifted arms of a goddess(?) as well and distinct breasts. She may be slightly later than the first one. The first-mentioned statuette with uplifted arms (A.I. 2804) is important, because she is both one of the earliest statuettes in human shape and also doubtless the image of a female. Her head-gear points to a divine identity, perhaps the goddess venerated at the site as early as the late Cypro-Geometric or not later than the early Cypro-Archaic period.

The third statuette (A.I. 2316) has

a trunk-shaped body and has been called the bearded Aphrodite.<sup>22</sup> Is the latter figure really a woman (breasts, especially small ones like here, are not always indicative of gender in Cypriote coroplastic), a representation of Astarte (Aphrodite for the Greeks) in her dual female-male epiphany or is it some other androgynous non-human being? The vertically uplifted arms could support the interpretation of the figure as a goddess.

A fourth human figure, with the same type of body as the previous statuette with small breasts (head here missing), is holding a shield (A.I. 2375): is it a male or a female being, an Astarte-Aphrodite *armata* or a male votary?

The fifth statuette (A.I. 3175) belongs stylistically to the "idol



Fig. 4, a-c. A.I. 2316, h. 36 cm.



Fig. 5, a-b. A.I. 2375, h. 18 cm.



Fig. 6. A.I. 3175, h. 23.1 cm.



Fig. 7, a-b. A.I. 1752, h. 25.8 cm. Photo: Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 8, a-b. A.I. 1563 & 2026, h. 28.6 cm. Photo: Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum.

“plastic” as defined by Gjerstad. Its head-gear and the pose with uplifted arms as well as the assymetrically arranged pellet breasts indicate a female divinity.

The sixth recorded female figure, now an indubitable woman, is the mentioned Astarte-plaque (A.I. 1752). A further human-like figure with uncertain sex is the one seated on a stool with feet on a support and flanked by male sphinxes: god or goddess (Fig. 8: a-b)? Like Einar Gjerstad,<sup>23</sup> I opt for a representation of a female and either a goddess or a priestess. A similar statuette, of which only one side remains (Fig. 9: a-b), had flanking sphinxes wearing an

Egyptianising pointed crown (awkwardly modelled Upper Egypt type).<sup>24</sup> In spite of the meagre evidence, these statuettes each in its own way hint at a connection with the Astarte sphere: the armour and the throne with flanking sphinxes, as well as the beard and the snake all belong to her myth or imagery. So does the bull, as can be seen on some wall-brackets or lamp-holders with a nude female of “Astarte” type standing below a bull’s head.<sup>25</sup>

An androgynous Aphrodite is especially associated with Amathous in the Graeco-Roman literature and an interesting standing terracotta figurine, allegedly from Amathous, shows

a female body through a revealing dress and has a veiled(?) head with a beard.<sup>26</sup> The snake seen at the back of the bearded Ayia Irini statuette can either be explained as alluding to the netherworld and the snake as symbol of a regenerating power or fertility in general.

The first five standing statuettes are dated around 800 BC and somewhat later. The enthroned compositions date to the early Cypro-Archaic I period and Cypro-Archaic II (c. 560-540 BC) respectively,<sup>27</sup> an interval of almost two centuries or at least c. 150 years. The Astarte-plaque also dates to the Cypro-Archaic I-II period or around 650-550 BC.<sup>28</sup>



Fig. 9, a-b. A.I. 2331, l. 20 cm.

It is evident from this restricted group of female representations that there were always extremely few images that could be considered to represent divinities. At Ayia Irini, we have one in the Cypro-Geometric III period, one in the Cypro-Archaic I period and a couple in the Cypro-Archaic II period. Of mortal women there are some ring dancers (standing opposite the male dancers) and the female votaries are almost non-existent. At the time of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition only two statuettes had been identified as women. They have since then been supple-

mented with a few more, but are still few.<sup>29</sup> A complete standing statuette of a woman is interesting because of her wearing shoes or boots with upturned toes; she is thereby designed as a foreigner, probably from North Syria.<sup>30</sup> Her coiffure with short corkscrew locks along the neck as well as distinct nipples, indicated by small added pellets on her breasts, distinguish her from the male votaries.

#### Scarabs and seals

The scarabs and seals found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition within the *temenos* amount to over 300 spe-

cimens. These were chiefly found in groups along the north and western walls and are likely to have functioned as votive objects.<sup>31</sup> The essentially Near Eastern nature of the glyptic objects from Ayia Irini has already been noted.<sup>32</sup> I shall concentrate on a few examples of periods 3 (Cypro-Geometric to mid-Cypro-Archaic) and 4 (late 7th century BC) to 6 (second half of 6th century BC), which may shed some light on the character of the cult at Ayia Irini.

Apart from the Egyptian imports, there are some scarabs with a horse running to the right carved as device<sup>33</sup>

or a two-wheeled war-chariot drawn by an awkwardly cut horse(s) (A.I. 1148).

Another significant animal popular in the Cypro-Phoenician sphere is the lion. From Ayia Irini come a few outstanding pieces, firstly a scarab of green stone (A.I. 2707) with an antithetic composition on the device of two rampant lions in profile facing each other.<sup>34</sup> Their jaws are open with tongues hanging out and they seem to be boxing with the right paws; the other front leg hangs along the side of the body. The tails are curled up and ending in a drilled dot. Above the lions' heads is the disc with crescent below.<sup>35</sup> Is the image to be read as a twin set of Astarte's holy animal or is it an abbreviated version of the *pothnios theron* with only the flanking beasts carved? A complete image of the *pothnios theron* theme was found as well at Ayia Irini (A.I. 2243). It is again carved on a green stone and the central figure is a Bes-like creature or demon with distinct horns on top of the head above the ears.<sup>36</sup> This way of depicting a Bes was a Phoenician invention contrary to the Egyptian fashion. Bes never had horns in Egypt.<sup>37</sup>

Another scarab has a seated lion on the device, also this one of remarkable quality (A.I. 2722).<sup>38</sup> The animal sits in profile to the right with the tail lifted and partly curled up and ending in a dot. The muscles are tensed and the animal appears ready to spring forward. Alternatively the lion is wounded as has been suggested before and the artist indebted to Assyrian 7th century BC models. Whatever the influence, the fact that the image was chosen as a gift for this particular sanctuary may again point

to a presence of Astarte here.

There are also a couple of striding lions (A.I. 2284, slightly compact, clumsy cutting; A.I. 2528, very long-legged thin animal, sketchy, worn incision), both on grey scarabs and both of period 4.<sup>39</sup> Even these scarabs of poorer quality give an indication of the magic wished for by their owners: perhaps some blessing by Astarte? This goes also for some Cypriote scarabs found in tombs from Amathous with a Cypro-Archaic to Cypro-Classical context: Astarte followed and protected the dead.<sup>40</sup>

Very interesting in this context are the two representations on a scaraboid and a scarab respectively in a rough stylised style. Both images have been included in Buchner & Boardman's famous "Lyre Player Group" of seals thought to have been produced in North Syria or Cilicia in the second half of the 8th century BC (c. 740-720).<sup>41</sup>

The light blue scaraboid (A.I. 2567) depicts a falcon-like bird with outspread wings surmounted by an awkwardly cut half disc with half rosette in the shape of a crescent below (Fig. 10), or just a rosette as Boardman claims.<sup>42</sup> There is a second scarab/



Fig. 11, a-b. A.I. 2123, l. 1,75 cm.  
Original and impression.  
Photo: C. Beer, courtesy of the  
Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus  
Museum.

scaraboid allegedly from Cyprus with this motif<sup>43</sup> and the other similar ones lack provenances.<sup>44</sup> The iconography is Egyptianising with Horus, but the disc-and-crescent motif belongs in the Phoenician world.

The scarab from Ayia Irini with a "ritual banquet" scene on the device, shows a seated lyre player to the left facing a standing, probably female, tambourine player (Fig. 11: a-b). Between the musicians is a table with offerings, notably the flattish breads or wheat-cakes and other unidentifiable food-stuffs shown as a triangular lump. Strangely enough these designs were for long interpreted as fire and a bull's head, bull's horns with a bucra-



Fig. 10. A.I. 2567, l. c. 2 cm.

nium or variations thereof. I believe John Boardman and Giorgio Buchner rightly identified the objects as bread and food and they also reviewed the discussion with references to the parallels in North Syrian art and in particular from the Karatepe reliefs.<sup>45</sup>

The seated lyre player receiving offerings or entertainment is male, says Boardman. Since a similar, but standing, figure is depicted winged on another scarab, a divine status for the seated lyre player has been suggested as well.<sup>46</sup>

Naturally, the partly similar composition of the scene on the scarab and the one on the well-known bronze *patera* from Idalion have been observed and discussed.<sup>47</sup> The latter is altogether a women's scene with a possible goddess, holding a lotus-like flower in her right hand and a round fruit(?) in the left, sitting on a high-backed chair in front of a tripod laden with food, probably the common flat breads or wheat cakes forming a curved design. The small, round fruits or cakes inside are shown with an almost triangular outline in the drawing,<sup>48</sup> which is not what they look like on the original. The enthroned woman is surrounded by a group of dancers and a group of musicians, all women. Among the female musicians are a lyre player, a tambourine player and a woman playing the double flute. There can be no doubt that the lyre player is a woman here.

The second, probably "Cypro-Phoenician", bronze *patera* of interest here is the one found in Olympia.<sup>49</sup> This shallow bowl has a main register with an equal number of male and female scenes arranged symmetrically around the centre and bottom of the bowl. Twice the image or effigy of a

nude woman holding her breasts appear on opposite sides of the bowl. In the same fashion a bearded male, wearing a tight, clinging long dress, is shown twice. Both figures are surmounted by a winged sun-disc and the female one corresponds with the acknowledged iconography of "Astarte". Of course, her male counterpart here cannot be named accurately, but some Baal is a possible suggestion.<sup>50</sup> Two other opposite scenes show two "enthroned" persons receiving honours(?), respectively a woman and a man. The woman sits on a stool or folding chair and nurses an infant.<sup>51</sup> She wears an Egyptian haircloth or wig and faces a priestess or servant who is probably dressed in the same manner as herself and holds an *ankh* in one hand and a bowl lifted in the other. Between the two women is a table or altar with bread cakes and on top the horn- or crescent-shaped item (also cakes?) with an oval objects inside or on top of it. The male scene is similar, but here the enthroned male sits on a low-backed chair with foot-rest. He does not wear a beard and appears younger (short hair?) than the "Baal" images facing each other. He holds a lotus in one hand and a small bowl in the other. Is he a god? More likely is that he is a young ruler.<sup>52</sup> His attendant is male as well and wears an Egyptianising dress and head-gear and holds an *ankh*. The table, probably of tripod type, between them is different from the one on the women's side, but is laden with the same offerings as on the opposite side: bread cakes, crescent- or horn-shaped item with a probable spherical object on top.

The Olympia bowl has an Aramaic inscription on the outside which

seems to be a dedication or it just names the owner. The inscription could be secondary or belong to a first owner, but it is probable that the bowl came to Greece with a Near Eastern traveller or at least was produced in the Syro-Phoenician area or in Cyprus by Phoenicians or Aramaeans.

That an enthroned figure playing the lyre perhaps could be female and/or a goddess in the Levant, is exemplified by the find from Kuntillet 'Ajrud.

### Kuntillet 'Ajrud

#### excavations 1975–1976

At the fortress-like site about 50 km south of Kadesh Barnea (Israel), on the border of northern Sinai, two buildings were found, but only the main one, measuring about 15 x 25 metres, was well preserved.<sup>53</sup> It can be dated to the first half of the 8th century BC. There are two rooms in the building and both have low benches in them. From the larger so-called Bench Room came two important *pithoi*. *Pithos A* has a painted decoration with a seated female lyre-player off to the right (Fig. 12). She sits on a chair with very low back, wears a dotted dress and has a wig or thick hair and her breasts are painted with two small circles. To the left of her (on her right-hand side) are two other groups of figures, closest two standing demon-like ones with linked arms, of which at least one is reminiscent of the Egyptian dwarf-god Bes, so popular with the Phoenicians. The smaller of the two demons, probably a female partner to Bes or a Beset, has small circles painted for breasts. This strengthens the assumption of the lyre player being a female. Present is also another Phoenician scene, the cow suckling

the calf, and the Near Eastern motif with a central tree flanked by rampant animals, here probably two wild goats. Below this scene is a large lion walking to the right.

Both *pithos* A and B have painted Hebrew inscriptions on the shoulder and both mention "Yahweh and his Asherah".<sup>54</sup> It is impossible to fathom Yahwe as a Bes, but is the lyre player likely to be a picture of his Ashera?<sup>55</sup> If the iconography is borrowed from the Syro-Phoenician repertoire, and the seated lyre-player is used to imagine the Israelite goddess (not normally depicted), is it possible that the draughtsman who was untrained at figurative art transmitted an "Astarte"-type image known from seals or ivories?

### Conclusions

Astarte was the main goddess of the Phoenicians and we know for certain that she had a cult at Kition and in Paphos on the evidence of both ancient literary sources and inscriptions as well as cult objects and iconography.<sup>56</sup> In Lapethos, the city-state closest to Ayia Irini, Astarte was known to have a sanctuary.<sup>57</sup> The Phoenician pantheon of Lapethos was tinted by

strong Egyptian elements and also frequented by some of the gods of Byblos, where Hathor and Isis (with Osiris) were already well known. At many other Cypriote sites the certain naming of a divinity or a goddess is less evident. Later Classical-Roman Aphrodite sites often had a predecessor such as the local Great Goddess or the Phoenician Astarte.<sup>58</sup> We can guess at the later when the Near Eastern or Phoenician iconography and symbols outweigh Greek or local types and styles. Such are the cases at Amathous, Idalion and probably Golgoi.<sup>59</sup>

Astarte's character is very complex and changing over time and territories. As demonstrated by Corinne Bonnet, she had many epithets and played many different roles as well as interacted with other goddesses.<sup>60</sup>

At Ayia Irini, the accumulated iconographic and symbolic evidence (Phoenician "Astarte" symbols such as crescent-and-disc on horses breast plates and votive scarabs, the images of horses and lions, the enthroned figure flanked by sphinxes, and perhaps a second throne with a female seated between sphinxes, the seated lyre-player on the blue scarab

attending a cult scene etc.) point to the possibility that Astarte was one of the divinities venerated here. The absence of images of Hathor, contrary to the situation in Kition, Amathous, Paphos, Salamis, Lapethos, Idalion and Golgoi (evidence from the votive capitals from the latter two), could indicate that all her caring sides were suppressed here. Women did not come here to ask for help at deliveries or to have their children blessed. If Astarte had a function here it was as a strong, aggressive goddess who could inspire and protect the soldiers and their horses in battle and after death. The herds of cattle needed protection as well, in times of unrest as well as in peace. That the deity of Ayia Irini was conceived in the shape of a bull by the worshippers,<sup>61</sup> is less convincing.

There certainly existed a bipolarity in the Ayia Irini sanctuary, the oscillation between fertility/life and violence/death, and Astarte, especially in Cyprus, as well as Baal (according to the Ugaritic texts, which in all likelihood inspired Phoenician mythology and beliefs) belonged to both realms. The evidence strongly suggests that they were both present in this sanctuary not far from the sea.

NOTES

1 For the development and interpretation of the cult at Ayia Irini, see Sjöqvist, E. 1932. Mavrogiannis, Th. 1999, 101, identifies the sanctuary of Ayia Irini with a sanctuary of the Greek Herakles, who protects the cattle. In his article none of the Phoenicianising iconographical or other evidence is considered. The author has since it was written abandoned the idea of a Greek divinity (oral communication).

2 See *SCE* II, 643. During the conference an objection was raised to my calling the topography of the area rural. Since nothing city-like has come to light (or coins struck later to prove its existence) in the vicinity from the periods discussed here, the land around the Ayia Irini sanctuary is in my mind occupied by agrarian communities. The villagers may have been fairly well-to-do, but they do not display the same sophistication in terms of votives as the visitors to the city-sanctuaries. The existence or not of a river nearby is not significant, since rivers in Cyprus shrink considerably in the summer or dry out; they cannot have been important for transport and trade.

3 Törnkvist, S. 1970.

4 See, for instance, *SCE* II, pl. 221:4 (A.I. 2470), pl. 222:1 (2439) and 222:2 (2491).

5 See especially Culican, W. 1975-1976, 86; and Beer, C. 1991, 81 and n. 22.

6 Also noted on Phoenician masks and protomes, both with human (male and female) and animal heads, see *I Fenici* 1988, 355, left, for a female terracotta mask from Akziv dating between the 8th and 7th century BC; *ibid.*, 593, fig. 54, bearded terracotta mask from Amrit with a very small wart-like bump on the forehead, dated between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4th century BC (h. 9.9 x 7.9 cm); on several miniature pendant-heads of glass paste, see, for instance *ibid.*, 484 (some heads may have lost the tiny ball), from Olbia, Sardinia, dated 4th-3rd century BC; and for a small bull-protome of terracotta (h. 10.2 cm), with quite a large and thick "pellet" between the horns, from Amathous and dated to the 6th century BC, see *ibid.*, 356, top picture. Cf. also Barnett, R.D. & C. Mendleson. 1987, pl. 30: 7/16, for a grinning terracotta mask with a small squarish plaque with a moulded lion's head in the centre. The mask is however considered an import from Carthage, see *ibid.*, 71 (R.A. Higgins).

7 See *SCE* II, pl. 235:5 (1998) and 6 (249+115); and Gjerstad, E. 1963, 10, fig 9 (1998), p. 11, fig. 10 (249+115) and p. 12, fig. 14 (2388 + Suppl No. 2791).

8 Cf. various types of horse harnesses with the image of a nude woman holding her breasts ("Astarte") and other representations of Hathor, who was assimilated with Astarte in Cyprus and accordingly took on some of her duties, especially evident in the Salamis *necropolis*; for instance, from Tomb 79, see Karageorghis, V. 1974, pls. 82-84 (photos) and pls. 270-271 (drawings), showing bronze frontlets from Chariot B, each with a row of three lions *couchants* above *uraei* and a row of three naked Astarte type figurines holding their breasts (each of the former surmounted by a bearded male figure. Is the latter to be seen as a type of Baal? Further, Chariots G and D both have horse's breast harness with a crescent alone and Chariot D also has side pieces with the combined crescent-and-disc motif, see *ibid.*, pl. 122:197 and 199 (Chariot G) and pl. 128:320/18 and 320/24 (photos) and pl. 275 (drawings) with differently turned crescent-and-disc design.

9 See *SCE* II, pl. 207 (A.I.1049, upper part of statuette only); and larger, more recent photo of complete statuette in Gjerstad, E. 1963, 20, fig. 28; and Beer, C. 1991b, fig. 1.

10 See *SCE* II, pl. 218:1-2 (A.I.1049 front and right side of upper body), pl. 218:3 (A.I.940) and 4-5 (A.I.930): "right arm bent holding *buck* statuette (my italics) in front attached to body."

Whether it was meant to symbolise a living offering in the shape of a statuette or actually was an awkward rendering of a sacrificial animal is of course not possible to determine.

11 *SCE* II, 822.

12 Until the middle of the Cypro-Geometric III period (local period 3) or c. 775 BC, the majority of the *ex votos* consisted of terracotta bulls, but then the sanctuary was subject to some modifications, see Gjerstad, E. 1963, 3.

13 See *SCE* II, pl. 227:2 (2320) with breasts both on the animal's chest and on the upright standing human figure on top (arms missing), pl. 227:3 is similar but has more discreet breasts on the animal's front and the human figure has the raised arms preserved, also pl. 227:4 (2044) has the upper body of what seems to be a female, but it is much shorter than in the previous examples; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 228:3-4 (2340+2328+2373) where the two female "minotaurs" have the hair braids preserved.

14 See *SCE* II, and cf. the horizontal main body of the previous examples with that of the demon-“minotaur” on pl. 228:5 (1122) who clearly has a horse-tail.

15 See *SCE* II, pl. 228:5 (A.I. 1122).

16 For instance, from Amathous, see Karageorghis, V. & O. Picard & Chr. Tytgat, eds. 1991, 73f., T. 242/20.2 and T. 242/21.1 of "faience" and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC or earlier, see *ibid.*, 101 (G. Clerc); or from Tharros, Sardinia, see Barnett, R.D. & C. Mendleson. 1987, pl. 130, tomb 29/19 (photos) and pl. 67:1.29/29 (drawing; should read i.29/19 naturally). The five Tharros amulets are not dated but compared to others from Carthage, Dermech tomb 16, which are said to be from one of the earlier burials, see *ibid.*, 111 under Demon Heads.

17 See Karageorghis, V. 1974, colour pl. C of the bed and bed-head and pls. 66 and 236: 200+219, dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC (first burial), see *ibid.*, 95f.

18 Cf. Meniko, in the Nicosia District, where a very similar stone was found. The votive evidence in this sanctuary points more convincingly to a male recipient of the cult (enthroned bearded and horned "Baal Hamman" figure), see Karageorghis, V. 1977, pl. 6:1 (four views). Another ovoid betyl was found in the small island of Mozia, off the west coast of Sicily, where a Phoenician-Punic settlement probably venerated Astarte-Tanit according to the evidence of the *stelai*. Since there existed a *tophet* in the island, certainly the male partner of the goddess, Baal Hammon, was present as well. Falsone, G. 1993, 247, suggests that the betyl in Mozia was related to the latter god.

19 See Karageorghis, J. 2005, 30f. with references, and fig. 26.

20 Cf. Karageorghis, J. 2005, 92f. figs. 87a and 87b, holding their breasts from Amathous and *ibid.*, 172f. figs. 181-185 from Arsos, in a different style, but with arms along the sides.

21 For the date, see Gjerstad, E. 1963, 38, especially the second col.

22 Winbladh, M.-L. 1995.

23 See Gjerstad, E. 1963, 39, second col.

24 See *SCE* II, 760 (A.I.2331, not illustrated); and Gjerstad, E. 1963, 30, fig. 52.

25 See Karageorghis, J. 2005, 97, fig. 92:a-b.

26 See Karageorghis, J. 2005, 110f. for the references to the sources, and fig. 102.

27 Gjerstad, E. 1963, 39, second col.

28 Cf. Karageorghis, J. 1999, pl. 23:1 (cat. no. II (v)55).

29 See the supplementary list in Gjerstad, E. 1963, 38, n. 19.

30 See Gjerstad, E. 1963, 22, fig. 33 (front and from the left side).

31 *SCE* II, 809; and Reyes, A.T. 2001, 200.

32 Recently, for instance, Reyes, A.T. 2001, 200.

33 A.I. 2193: horse and bush; A.I. 2291: horse with cobra and bush, both of the Ramesside period? Or later? A.I. 2275: short horse with thick mane walking to left, disc above, Naukratis style; A.I. 2557: sketchy, awkwardly in-

cised quadruped, probably horse, and tiny twig above; and A.I. 2760, again a sketchy, negligent cutting, with a small unidentifiable animal above and below the horse, from a period 3 context or Cypro-Geometric III to mid-Cypro-Archaic, see Reyes, A.T. 2001, 67, fig. 94.

34 *SCE* II, 772, no. 2707 and pl. 250:2: see also Reyes, A.T. 2001, 79, fig. 129 (cat. no. 105) for impression and drawing.

35 Different in style, but similar in the composition with two rampant lions flanking a stylised date-palm is the cutting on a scarab of unknown provenance, see Reyes, A.T. 2001, 116, fig. 273; Boardman 1968, 22, no. 22; pl. 1.

36 See *SCE* II, 757, no. 2243 and pl. 246:1; see also Reyes, A.T. 2001, 89, fig. 158 (cat. no. 135) for impression and drawing.

37 See G. Clerc in Karageorghis, V., O. Picard & Chr. Tytgat, eds. 1991, 101.

38 See *SCE* II, 772, no. 2722 and pl. 250:7; see also Reyes, A.T. 2001, 79, fig. 130 (cat. no. 106) for the impression.

39 See Reyes, A.T. 2001, 115, figs. 269-270, for further references.

40 The most obvious instance is the famous Amathus sarcophagus from Cyprus, dated to the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, where one of the short ends has a painted relief decoration of four nude Astarte type females holding their breasts, see Karageorghis, V. in collaboration with J.R. Mertens & M.E. Rose. 2000, 203, fig. 330. Tomb 84 from Salamis also has a carved crescent, perhaps an abbreviated symbol of Astarte, above the *stomion* with recessed door frames in Phoenician fashion. It dates from the Cypro-Archaic II period, see Karageorghis, V. 1970, 129 and pl. 161:5.

41 The group was first identified by Blenkenberg, Chr. 1931, 161ff.; followed by Porada, E. 1956, who considered the origin of the scarabs to be Rhodes; Buchner, G. & J. Boardman. 1966; and Boardman, J. 1990 have argued for either a West Asian or Near Eastern source.

42 Boardman, J. 1990, 15, no. 126 bis, where the material is defined as "blackish stone with blue patina (or glaze?)"; see also Reyes, A.T. 2001, 70, cat. no. 80.

43 Boardman, J. 1990, 15, no. 132 ter (Cyprus Museum D. 61).

44 For instance, Boardman, J. 1990, 6, fig. 10, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

45 See Buchner, G. & Boardman, J. 1966, 48ff.

46 See references in Boardman, J. 1990, 7f.

47 See line drawing and photo in Markoe, G. 1985, 246f. (Cy3)

48 In Markoe, G. 1985, 246 and earlier, for instance, Perrot, G. & Ch. Chipiez 1885, 673, fig. 482.

49 Markoe, G. 1985, 204f. G3, and p. 316f. for line drawing and photo.

50 Frankfort, H. 1970, 326, thought that these bearded figures perhaps reflected renderings of the Egyptian Nile-god Hapi.

51 This nursing mother is possibly intended for Isis, according to Frankfort, H. 1970, 327, though he recognizes that no attributes are given.

52 Cf. some earlier Late Bronze Age ivories from Megiddo, where the ruler sits either on a stool with footrest at a feast or receives honours sitting on a high-backed throne, in both cases he also has short hair or has the head covered by a cap of some sort, see Frankfort, H. 1970, 270, figs. 315-316. A further example is represented on the Ahiram sarcophagus from Byblos, where the long-haired or wig-wearing bearded ruler also holds a lotus, but here drooping, see *ibid.* 271, fig. 317.

53 Meshel, Z. 1978, 50, for a map of the area, and 52, fig. 5, for a plan of the main building.

54 See Binger 1997, Appendix 2, p. 167 ff., for the long list of slightly diverse readings of the jar inscriptions as well as other ones from Kuntillet 'Ajrud.

55 Suggested by Dever, W. 2005, 164f. (and earlier), who also describes the seated woman or "Asherah" as "semi-

nude and bare-breasted". I do not agree with this interpretation: it is only a sketchy drawing, but I understand it as rendering a decently dressed woman.

56 See Bonnet, C. 1996, 70 ff.

57 Bonnet, C. 1996, 74f.

58 See Ulbrich, A. 2005.

59 The situation at many major sites is uncertain, such as at Salamis where no Archaic temple remains have been excavated, but where votive statuary tells about a local female. Cult in the Cypro-Archaic-Classical periods, see Yon, M. 1974. More telling are the finds from the necropolis where symbols and signs of Astarte are plentiful.

60 Bonnet, C. 1996; Bonnet, C. & V. Pirenne-Delforge. 1999.

61 Gjerstad, E. 1963, 3.

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# NEW SUGGESTIONS FROM PYRGOS/MAVRORACHI ON CYPRIOTE 2000 BC PROTO-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY AND ITS GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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## Introduction

The intention of this paper is to give a first interpretation of the industrial evidence found at Pyrgos under a socio-economic profile, considering the cultural meaning of the Early-Middle Bronze Age unitary building of Mavrachri, which was recently discovered. Contrary to many readings of Cypriote archaeological records, the evidence coming to light at Pyrgos points not to a division of gender roles but to an organization where men and women worked side by side.

The 'gender perspective' of the conference on Cyprus Archaeology in Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, is a topic often investigated through a philosophical and archaeological point of view in the last thirty years in a multitude of conferences, articles and volumes. Gender is a subject of extreme actuality in the political debate – the advent of new feminist scholars studying gender roles in prehistory and history is reevaluating the role of the female and her involvement in the creation and evolution of religion, tradition and cultural identity.<sup>1</sup> Marija Gimbutas has examined the subject of gender thoroughly,<sup>2</sup> and it is still re-examined today by feminist

scholars. The reading and interpretation of the past through the archaeological records and data is changing abruptly. However, following these new feminist theories there is a risk of passing from one extreme to another: from an exclusivist androcentrism to a gynaecentrism that considers the women and not the men responsible for most of the important cultural revolutions of the past.

*In medium stat virtus* and probably the middle position of Margaret Ehrenberg is the correct starting point to reanalyze the issue of gender.<sup>3</sup> Ehrenberg underlines the importance of women in pre-Neolithic society and believes that women and men had the same role of hunters and gatherers. She believes in an equalitarian prehistoric society where there was no distinction of work: men and women used the same tools for the same or different purposes.

## Cypriote representations of gender

Diane Bolger has examined gender in prehistoric Cyprus, from the Chalcolithic period until the Late Bronze Age. Regarding the beginning of the Bronze Age, the period relevant to the present paper, Bolger underlines

the division of male and female roles in Cypriote depictions of people engaged in domestic activities and the processing of food, interpreting these as expressions of the advent of a patriarchal society.<sup>4</sup>

In a society without books, painted or plastic representations were a system of communication more striking than words. The Cypriotes of the beginning of the second millennium BC knew the communicative power of images and how these could be enriched with symbols to highlight the most notable events of their community. The so called 'scenic compositions' (Figs. 1–3) convey, aside from technological solutions, the rules and procedures of social life, the relations among members of the same family, and the relations between families or clans. Even if we cannot completely understand the meaning of the messages hidden in the Cypriote representations, we know that they contain some of the most important elements of the Cypriote Bronze Age culture. Among these are family values, organization of labour, arts and crafts, sailing and trade, and religious practices.<sup>5</sup>

These depictions will be used as terms of comparison to interpret

the archaeological evidence from Pyrgos and formulate a hypothesis of the Pyrgos labour organisation, which apparently shows a society where women and men do not have different tasks but collaborate in the industrial processing of food, and the production of perfumes and copper. The only activity in which the women seem to have had an exclusive role is the spinning and weaving of textiles. The Pyrgos model of an industrial centre will be considered as a possible place of invention of a well-organised tribal community, representative of the characteristic regionalism of Early Middle Bronze Age Cyprus,<sup>6</sup> mainly recorded by the pottery production and coroplastic representations.

Sometimes, a prominent male personage is the fulcrum of the representation, as in the case of the 'Vounous bowl' (Fig. 1)<sup>7</sup> and of the Pyrgos double neck jug (Fig. 2),<sup>8</sup> where the composition evolves around a male person sitting on a large chair. It is interesting to note that both these compositions are organized around a naked enthroned male personage on a chair with a prominent backrest, clearly symbolizing the power of that person. In the Pyrgos composition, a woman holding a baby is seated to the right of the enthroned figure. A woman holding a baby is present on the Vounous bowl as well. The same personages appear on many other scenic compositions arranged around the shoulders of large vases, often in association with two basins in sequence, connected by a spout, similar to the Pyrgos vase.<sup>9</sup> The recurrence of the enthroned male figure suggests that the community had a male leader (patriarch). However, the frequent presence of only one woman



Fig. 1. The Vounous bowl (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia).



Fig. 2. The Pyrgos vase (Archaeological Museum, Limassol).



Fig. 3. Winemaking model (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia).

with a child indicates that the personage had one wife and not a harem, and that the couple had a specific importance and symbolism. Often the couple, (man, woman and child) is the protagonist of the representations: sometimes standing in a hieratic frontal position.<sup>10</sup>

In the 'winemaking model' (Fig. 3),<sup>11</sup> acquired by the Leventis Foundation, the central male personage inside the basin, who seems to be in a special prestigious position, captures attention. As there is no apparent reason to represent the personage treading grapes naked, the indication of the sex should be intentional. However, this role does not seem to be a specific male engagement, because we find a female personage in a similar position in the representation of winemaking on the Pyrgos vase.<sup>12</sup> As the scene represents a seasonal event of some importance for the community, with the participation of members of the same family or tribe, it is interesting to note that the key role of treading grapes could be equally assigned to a man (boy) or a woman (girl). Moreover, these representations do not appear to have anything to do with religious practice.<sup>13</sup>

### The Pyrgos/Mavrorachi landscape and settlement

The area of the Early-Middle Bronze Age settlement at Pyrgos is estimated to have had an extension of 35 hectares approximately.<sup>14</sup> The industrial building complex was located in the centre of the settlement. This industrial area, currently expropriated by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, has an extension of 1½ hectares. The cemetery of the prehistoric settlement extends to the east, distributed as a large arch bordering the eastern side of the settlement.<sup>15</sup> The tombs run under the houses of the modern village, which has arisen in the last ten years.

The hill named Mavrorachi, which shows interesting copper outcrops of crysocola and malachite, was partly occupied by the Early-Middle Bronze age settlement and was probably the main copper mineral resource of the settlement. The southern slope of the hill down to the Pyrgos riverbed is an area full of remains of copper working. Pieces of minerals, slag, querns and pestles of different type and dimensions are scattered on the surface. It was this evidence, which in 1995 led Maria Hadjikostī and me to suspect the existence of a settlement here, and it was the reason for my decision to make soundings in the area in 1996 and 1997, and to start the excavations in 1998.<sup>16</sup>

The architectural complex of Pyrgos, located in the middle of the large settlement, extends more than 4000 sq. m., calculated by resistivity testing (Fig. 4) applied to an area of 70 x 70 m.<sup>17</sup> Until 2005, the excavations had brought to light only 30% of the architectural remains, corresponding to

the sector devoted to industrial activities. In the centre of the investigated area there is a large olive press room furnished with ten storage jars (each with the capacity of storing 300-500 litres of olive oil) and a laboratory for producing olive oil scents.<sup>18</sup> In the western adjacent room (probably the western wing of the palace), there is a place for dyeing and weaving textiles. To the north and south there are two courtyards and to the east two workshops, all of them full of implements and facilities to produce metal objects.

Until today, the total excavated area of Pyrgos/Mavrorachi is approximately 1200 sq. m. (40 m. north-south x 30 m. east-west) corresponding to seven rooms and two large open spaces. The dimensions and distribution of these rooms, easy to compare with the structures brought to light at Markì and Alambra in the Nicosia district, are characterized by a unitary building with a specific industrial destination.<sup>19</sup> The olive press room, except for the western side (bordering the storage area), was the fulcrum of the industrial quarter, communicating on three sides with the courtyards and the workshops for the copper industry. The peculiar position of the working places – directly communicating with the olive press and storage room – suggests a frequent use of olive oil and its residues as additions or fuel for the furnaces and forges.

### Methods of analysis

The intact archaeological layer, sealed by the collapsing of the structures due to an earthquake, together with the absence of later rebuilding, permits

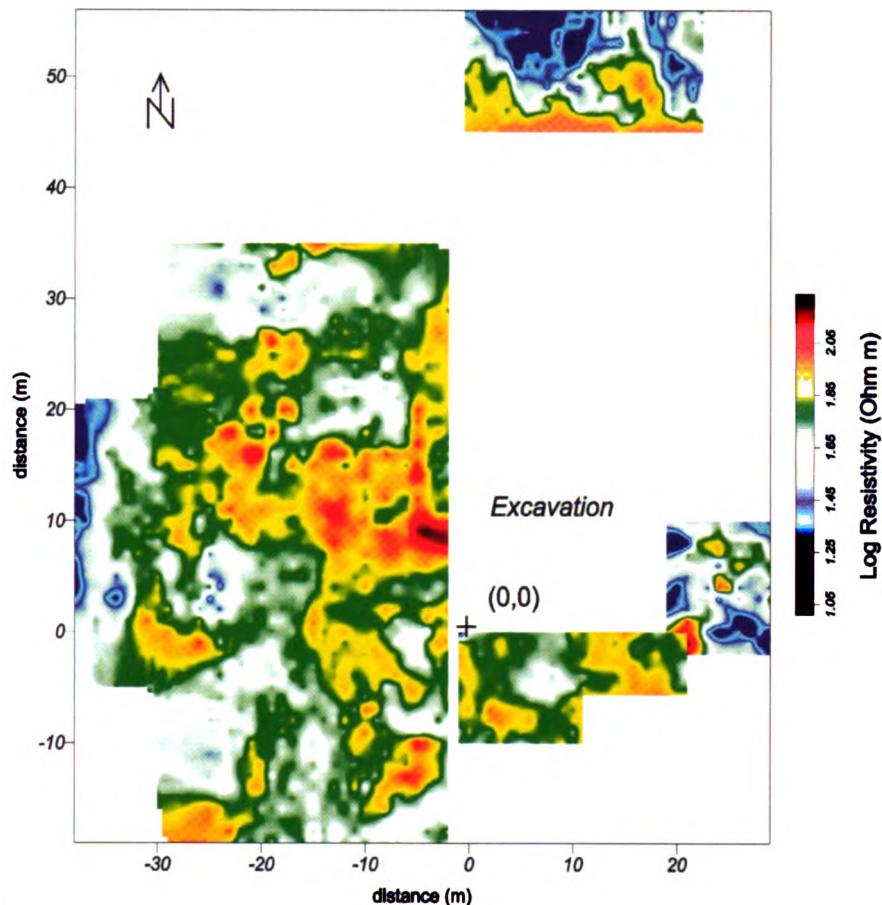


Fig. 4. Map of the building by resistivity testing.

a systematic archaeometric investigation to find organic and mineral evidence related to industrial activities. X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF), Infrared Spectroscopy (IR), Chromatography, Fengel test (sulphuric acid + Dinaphthol under ultraviolet light), Gas-Chromatography, chemical toxicological tests (the Halphen-Grimaldi method, the Bloor mixture, the Liebermann, Marquis, Bellier, Chen, Vitali, Bechi and McNally reactions and toxicological tests) have all been used to investigate organic remains. Optical Microscope observation, Ignate Coupled Plasma (ICP, Optical Spectrometer Perkins Elmer mod. 40),

Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (ED-XRF), X-Ray Diffraction (XRD), Scanning Electron Microscope observation (SEM) and Fourier Transform Spectroscopy (FTIR) have been used to investigate metals. The fibres and woven materials have been treated with a solution of glycerine and bi-distilled water, mounted on microscope slides with a known refraction index, and examined using a microscopic video camera JVC C322 RGB (mounted on an optical microscope, James Swift model MP 3502M, and a stereomicroscope, model Nissho Optical) connected to a computer equipped with a memory

card for the acquisition of remotely sensed images. All the treated material has been conserved in the archive of ITABC-CNR, after consolidation with a 5% vinyl acryl nitrite emulsion for future reinvestigations. A program of Radiocarbon Calibration analyses (C 14) for the absolute chronology database is in progress. Nine samples of carbonised materials, which were analysed by G. Calderoni of the La Sapienza University of Rome, gave a chronological range between 1900–1800 BC, and one between 2350–2200 BC. A program of experimental trials regarding the reproduction of workplaces and the techniques of the different industries discovered at Pyrgos/Mavrachis started at the end of 2005 in collaboration with the Antiquities Experimental Archaeology Centre of Blera (Viterbo).<sup>20</sup>

#### A short description of the industrial space (Fig. 5)

The total extension of the industrial quarter (considering the possible existence of a domestic quarter) of Pyrgos/Mavrachis is not yet clear due to the limited extent of the excavated area. The domestic area was probably located in the western sector, not yet investigated, where the distribution of the collapsed structures suggests the presence of a second floor. In this sector, two joined rooms (n° 3 and 4), full of implements for making textiles, indicate the existence of a separate quarter frequented by women. The adjacent sector consisting of one room (n° 2), arranged as a coppersmith workshop, was directly in connection with the southwestern corner of the olive press room, through a passage of 1.80 m. To the north, only the courtyard bordering

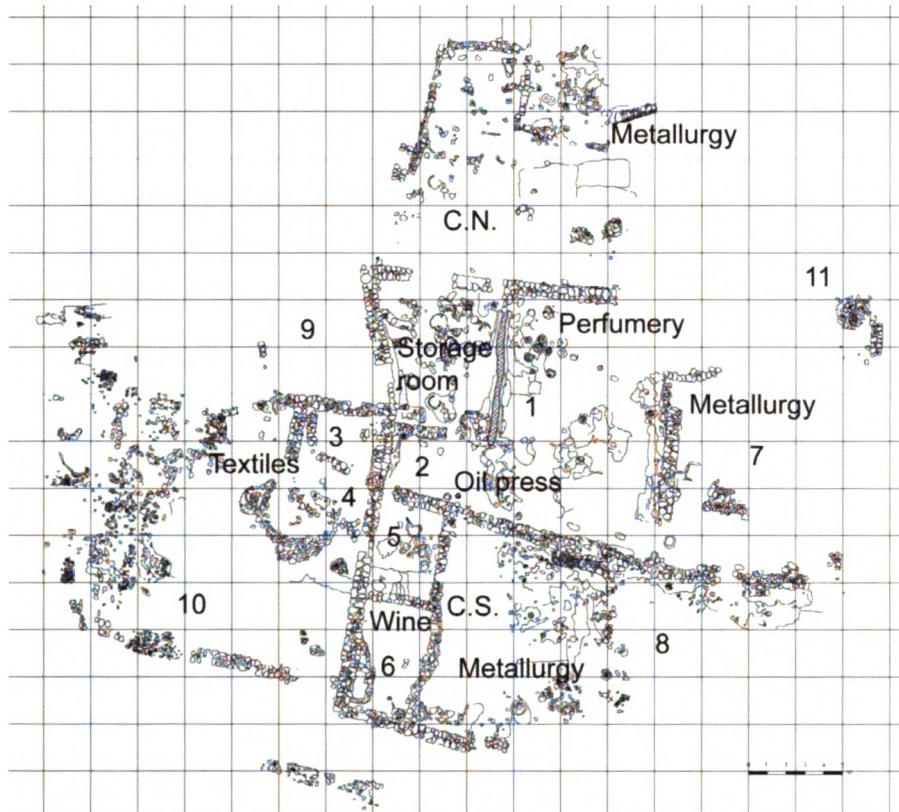


Fig. 5. Map of the central excavated area.

the northern side of the olive press room, corresponding to the extension of its northern wall, has been excavated. However, the map drawn by the geophysical prospecting demonstrates that the structure was roughly rectangular with four large open spaces/courtyards in the corners and a possible double floor structure in the centre.

For all its length (18 m.), the southern wall of the olive press room runs adjacent to copper working places. Near the western corner, there was a small passage of 80 cm., leading into a small rectangular room (n° 5), which, to the west, was also connected with the textile rooms (n° 3 and 4). A large court for the process-

ing of copper bordered the centre and the eastern extension of the wall. The same wall continues straight to the east for over 15 m., dividing two large rooms (n° 7 and 8, not excavated), which at present seem to be part of the same metallurgical area as mentioned above. In 2005, a second room (n° 6) in line with n° 5, has been investigated. This room was found equipped with two stone built basins against the western wall; 2 storage jars, 7 large basins and paraphernalia of other 25 vases were also found in the room. Remains of tartaric acid found in many of the vessels and inside the stone built basins, and the presence of grape seeds suggest that the place was used as winery.<sup>21</sup> Fol-

lowing the seasons, the room was utilised during the year to make, decant and store the wine.

### The olive press room and the perfumery

The olive press room is divided into two parts by a central bench made to control the beam of the press. The western part was completely devoted to storing the jars for the olive oil, while a small perfume factory was allocated in the eastern part, arranged near the central bench. The perfumery consisted of 14 ground furnace pits (each hosting a jug on coal) and paraphernalia of more than 70 clay objects,<sup>22</sup> hundreds of stone flints and many sandstone and andesite implements (querns and pestles) for preparing, blending and conserving the scents. Eighteen different essences have been identified by analysing the contents of the vases and the samples of earth taken inside the pits: turpentine, mastika, resin of conifer, citrus bergamot, coriander, laurel, myrtle, bitter almond, myrrh, parsley, anise, rosemary, lavender and chamomile.<sup>23</sup> Four different perfume blend compositions have been tentatively remade (with regard for the possible missing of some components and of the fragrance dosage) by the Antiquitates Centre of Experimental Archaeology at Blera.<sup>24</sup>

The location of the perfumery in the olive press room, and the presence of olive oil in the jugs found in the pits, suggest that one of the systems to obtain the scents was maceration in olive oil, a method much later described by Pliny the elder in book XII of *Historia Naturalis*.<sup>25</sup> Of course, we have to presume that the perfume factory was working throughout the

year, with a probable stop only in the period of olive oil making. Moreover, the production of perfumes would have followed the seasonal and alternative availability of flowers and fragrance substances. Considering the kind of fragrances found and the fact that the place was destroyed by an earthquake, it is possible that we have found only the perfumes made at the end of the summer (September-October). As for the people involved in the processing of the essences, there are some details suggesting that mainly women frequented the place. These are the copper spirals and the copper cylinders for hairdressing, a copper pin, a complete shell necklace and a number of spindle whorls,<sup>26</sup> all found among the perfume paraphernalia. Of course, this is only a hypothesis; we should not forget that the place was also a passage between the olive oil storage room and the northern court, and the objects may have been lost by women not engaged in the perfume making, or by men.

### Textiles

The textiles area on the western side of the building was, however, only indirectly connected to the olive press room (by passing through room n° 5). The working place was divided into two units. One unit was probably used to prepare and dye the fibres before spinning. It was positioned in a square enclosure with a floor made of pebbles and calcarenite stones, equipped with two large basins made of small stones and plastered mud slabs, against the eastern wall. The second unit, connected with the first, had a large bench made of calcarenite stones, which appears to have been surrounding the loom. Thirty-five clay loom weights

heaped in a line on the floor between two groups of heavy stone weights suggest the location of a vertical loom in the centre of the room.

Remains of different fibres have been found entrapped inside the holes of the spindle whorls found scattered on the floor together with broken vases, probably used as containers for thread balls. The fibres recognised are mainly those of wool, cotton, Hibiscus, Asclepias, Calotropis, Cannabis sativa and linen. But the most important is the wild silk of the *Tortrix viridens* found together with fibres of cotton in a vase where there were remains of two different Lepidoptera.<sup>27</sup> The insect parts have been sent for identification to the Italian Entomological Institute of Rome.

Most of the fibres retain the original dye: blue, yellow, green and red have been found near the dyeing basins. Lumps of colours, mainly black-reddish, dark-blue, red and yellow, have also been found. There is also the very important evidence of possible foreign cultural connections: the purple of Tyre and blue indigo. Looking at the layout of the room, we recognise the traditional system of the fibres being washed and dyed before spinning, and the procedure, still in use today, of oiling the fibres, used mainly for wool, to facilitate the spinning and weaving, as recorded by Homer in the book VII of *The Odyssey* and represented on many Attic vases.<sup>28</sup> Remains of olive oil, turpentine and animal fat have been found absorbed by the clay of the spindle whorls. Other objects found in the same unit (pyxides, *askoi*, other precious pottery and mortars of different dimensions containing remains of opium, pine resin, terebinth resin,

Calcocina, ephedrine and Scamonea, mixed with wine or vinegar),<sup>29</sup> might be connected to a specific female involvement in preparing and making cosmetics and medicaments. The connection between textiles and medicines cannot be casual if we consider these activities peculiar to women.<sup>30</sup>

### The copper working places

The copper processing installations have been found in rooms directly connected with the olive press room. The excavations at Pyrgos started from the northern court, where superimposed floors of pit furnaces, benches, querns, stone tools, mortars and slag were scattered everywhere, showing the metallurgical use of the place.<sup>31</sup> First, it was thought that the court belonged to the house of a coppersmith. However, this hypothesis fell apart after the discovery of the large olive press room south of the court. The two units are connected by a large door of almost two metres. A second court completely equipped for copper production was found in 2005, south of the southern wall of the olive press room. In total, the extension of this court together with the northern court makes more than 600 sq. m. occupied by benches, furnaces, pipelines for bellows, implements and stone tools for the working of copper. In addition, the density of the slag scattered on the surface suggests the existence of more rooms devoted to the same activity on the southeastern side. However, even if we consider only the present data, regarding in particular the number and distribution of the working places and the quantity of the implements, we have evidence of an unusually large organisation

for copper production. The processing of copper probably began in the northern court where the ores were first crushed and smelted. Meanwhile, the melting of the alloys and the casting seem to have been carried on in the southern court, where, near the furnaces, we have found stone tools, anvils (Fig. 3) and clay moulds (Fig. 4) for making bronzes.<sup>32</sup> To give an idea of the number of people involved, I will try to briefly summarize the procedure of working copper in relation to the evidence found at Pyrgos.

### The copper processing

The primary step to obtain metal from the ores was the extraction of the minerals: the ores were crushed to facilitate the selection of the best pieces, which were powdered before the smelting procedure. Numerous andesite querns and heavy pestles for this operation have been found in the northern court. A group of these implements was found heaped against the central bench. We reused them for some experimental trials made with the malachite ores from Mavrorachi. After these experiments, we realized that one minute of work is sufficient in order to reduce a rock of malachite of three kilos into small particles. After the reduction, it is easy to choose the pieces rich in copper, recognisable by the intense green colour. The selection of the best pieces was important, as the percentage of the metal obtained is proportional to the pureness of the mineral smelted. The furnaces found in the northern court are of three types: 1) A large (ca. 1.80 x 1.80 m.), square, shallow (25 cm.) cavity carved on the floor and bordered by two joined lines of small



Fig. 6. Swage anvil of andesite found in October 2005.

stones. 2) A cylindrical oven (with the diameter of 1 m. at the base, 45 cm. inside), built of stones disposed in superimposed circles, open on one side and plastered inside. 3) A pit furnace (with the inside diameter of 30 cm.) made of calcarenite earth, plaster and very small stones. In the archaeometallurgy literature, these kinds of furnaces are ascribed to the first roasting and the primary smelting respectively.<sup>33</sup>

In the southern court, the situation is quite different and all the evidence indicates that the main activities were the casting and refining of the copper objects. The area is organised in a peculiar manner: a large quantity of calcarenite soil forms a sort of artificial heap in the centre of the room, and a large low bench built of small stones and plaster occupies two thirds of the back wall of the olive press room, starting from the eastern corner. In front of this bench there is a battery of small ovens (pit furnaces), arranged inside the calcarenite heap. Each oven was found covered by a flat stone. The

inside diameter of these ovens does not exceed twenty cm. for a depth of thirty cm. circa. More pit furnaces of the same dimensions are distributed irregularly on the top of the calcarenite heap. The ovens are covered in soil up to the top, and at the top, a large stone slab covers an opening of 10 cm. A small jug without base, positioned upside down with the mouth pointing inside the oven, was found on two occasions incorporated in the wall structure of the pit furnace. Each oven has three or four pipe mouths on the walls for ventilation. The bellows were positioned three metres away from the furnaces and connected with the ovens by pipe lines (with the diameter of 5 cm. in section) arranged in the calcarenite soil. These are easily recognisable by traces of fire. No fragments of clay tuyeres have been found. On the western side and in the southern corner there is another battery of ovens connected by a labyrinth of pipelines. The total of pit furnaces found in this area was 18 in 2005. The total of stone tools (querns, pestles,

hammers, rub stones, axes and anvils) found around the furnaces and on the bench are 112. Two intact clay moulds for axes (23 and 20 cm. in length respectively) have been found in two different ovens in front of the main bench. A swage andesite anvil for shaping swords, with its hammers, has been found near a sort of forge in the eastern corner. Pieces of moulds, crucibles and slag have been found scattered everywhere. Two large jugs and three long-spouted *amphoriskoi* together with ladle cups have been found collected in two groups near the bench and in the southwestern corner of the court. Some spindle whorls have been found on the bench together with some small vases and two *askoi*. Further, three spindle

whorls were found near the ovens on the west side.

### Olive oil as fuel

The material used as fuel by the ancient metallurgists is an important topic, as it involves many environmental, cultural and social aspects. Up to the present, little attention has been paid to the identification of different possible fuels used in prehistoric times, assuming that charcoal was the universal fuel used by all coppersmiths. The traditional formula of Tylecote  $CO + CuCO_3 = 2CO_2 + Cu$ ,<sup>34</sup> which explains the chemical reaction of the smelting of copper carbonates using charcoal, is not *a condition sine qua non*, and was not the only system known to smelt copper in the Bronze

Age. It is enough to remember the use of Bitumen in the Sumerian civilisation since 3500 BC.<sup>35</sup> Even today, there are ethno-archaeological examples of the use of different fuels in the absence of charcoal in desert environments. Probably, in finding remains of copper furnaces, there might have been misunderstandings in the interpretation of the remains of wood (eventually carbonised), believed to be charcoal. Probably small pieces of dry wood (usually from olive trees) were used to start the fire, but then the pyroclastic procedure was carried on with the addition of a high calorific fuel to achieve the melting point. Necessity is the mother of invention and it is logical that people used the most available fuel resource. In Cyprus, at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, it is plausible that the people there made and used olive oil rather than charcoal.

At Pyrgos, the peculiar distribution of the copper-working areas around the olive press room, suggested from the beginning that there must have been some specific relation between the olive oil and the metallurgical activity. In addition, there were very few remains of charcoal inside and around the furnaces. Considering the amount of charcoal necessary to reach and maintain the copper smelting temperature and the number of the pit furnaces found, the remains are inconsistent to charcoal fuelled furnaces. Moreover, the small dimensions and the structure of the southern court ovens made it difficult to fill them up with pieces of charcoal during the melting operation. However, it would have been very easy to fill them with olive oil, using a long reed inserted in a small jug positioned



Fig. 7. One of the two moulds for axe found in 2005.

upside down. The use of olive oil has been confirmed by the analyses of the burned soil found in the furnaces and in many vases found nearby.<sup>36</sup>

To understand how the system worked and calculate how much olive oil was necessary for each operation, a series of archaeological experiments have been made at Pyrgos and in Italy at the Antiquitates Centre of Experimental Archaeology at Blera. The furnaces have been reconstructed with the same material, respecting the dimension and the position of the bellows, connected to the furnaces by simple reeds covered in mud. Moreover, a small jug broken at the base was embedded at the top of the oven, and used to drop the olive oil in the furnace using a long reed, permitting the operator to stay far from the fire.

The experiments show that the system worked perfectly, and, regarding the use of olive oil as fuel, it is possible (after starting the fire with small pieces of dry wood) that olive oil was employed to reach and maintain the temperature to smelt or melt the metal. Normally, 5 litres of oil are enough for a furnace of 30 cm. in diameter (for a temperature of 1100 degrees). However, it is possible to reach a temperature of 1300 degrees with 7 litres (temperatures monitored with a thermocouple of chrome aluminium).

The first laboratory analyses and the smelting experiments (made using the waste remains of the ores found around the furnaces) gave the following results:<sup>37</sup> 1) The ores probably came from Mavrorachi outcrops, as their mineral composition (in order of percentage of copper, iron, tin, arsenic, zinc, nickel and antimony) are very similar to the lumps of

crysocolla and malachite recovered on the slopes of Mavrorachi. 2) The powdered ores smelted at 900 degrees in a clay crucible produce a slag that includes many copper prills. 3) This slag smelted a second time produces a small quantity of copper and a soft matrix slag rich in spherical copper inclusions, which it is easy to recover by crushing the slag. From 420 grams of ores, it is possible to obtain, at the end of the process, 150 g. of slag and 30 g. of copper. 4) The slag found in the excavations (more than 2000 lumps) has the same composition as the ores, and still contain a high percentage of copper prills. They are as hard as the slag product obtained after the first smelting in our experiments and melt at a low temperature, around 950 degrees. 5) A piece of prehistoric slag (110 g.), smelt in a crucible, gives a secondary product of 30 g. consisting of a soft matrix slag imprisoning spherical drops of copper, similar to the secondary slag produced by our experiments, which is as easy to crush (in order to collect the copper) as the ores. This evidence demonstrates that the copper used at Pyrgos was smelted directly inside the industrial complex.

### People involved

To summarise, the rooms devoted to metallurgical activities (within the limits of the area excavated) extend to 600 sq. m., which suggests that a considerable number of people were engaged in the processing of copper. In addition to these activities, we have to consider the number of the people engaged in the exploiting of the copper minerals and in the transportation of the ores to the factory. Assuming that the mineral came from Mavro-

rachi, the distance was irrelevant, but if we consider the possibility that the outcrops exploited were from as far away as the mines of Mazokampos (6-7 km. to the north) or the mines of Kalavassos (25 km. to the northeast), we have to calculate on the engagement of more people. Moreover, the whole procedure requires even more people to procure and prepare food for the 'metallurgists'. The scenario is quite unforeseen in the current reconstructions of the Early-Middle Bronze Age society, as the direction and the organisation of such a number of people would require a more complex administration than that which could be provided by a single patriarch.

Moreover, it is not possible to estimate what the relationships were between women and men in the organisation of copper processing, even if the evidence found in the excavations suggests that at Pyrgos this was not an exclusively male job. For example, numerous spindle whorls have been found in the metallurgical area, near the working places and the furnaces, suggesting that women frequented the place. In addition, at Pyrgos we do not have evidence of a coppersmith workshop organised by a master with his own team, but evidence of a group of people working simultaneously on different correlated activities. Considering the possibility of women being employed in the copper processing, I would like to point out that until recent (modern) times, women were normally engaged in the process of smelting metals, employed especially in the choosing of the pieces of minerals after the crashing and in recuperating the drops of metal after the smelting.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, assuming that spinning was an exclusive female art

and using the presence of the spindle whorls as a 'fossil index', we can presume that at Pyrgos women had some roles in the metallurgical industry.

### Conclusions

Before the discovery of the Mavrachi complex, the first small-scale copper production was estimated to have started in Cyprus after the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. However, the Pyrgos evidence points to an earlier date and demonstrate that centuries before that time, the Middle Bronze Age society was able to organise an industrial production of copper.

The lack of frequent contacts with foreign countries, such as Egypt and the Middle East where the industry of copper was regulated by administrative controls, could have helped Cyprus in conserving its ancestral tribal organisation until the beginning of Middle Bronze Age.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the typological differences of the pottery (regarding class, style and decoration) coming from the seven districts of the traditional geographic division of Cyprus (Paphos, Limassol, Larnaca, Nicosia, Famagusta, Morphou and Kyrenia), is the main evidence for the probable existence of different tribes, each with its own cultural identity. This phenomenon has been called regionalism,<sup>40</sup> but the correct term should be ethnocentrism. This term, created in 1881 by William Graham Sumner,<sup>41</sup> reunifies in one word the social concept of the tribe, intended as an aggregation of people, following rules established among the members

of the community, having its own symbols, colours and decorations to recognize themselves and the objects belonging to their tribe.

Leaving aside the Early-Middle Bronze Age Cypriote pottery, investigated in depth by many scholars, I would like to direct attention to the discrepancy between the small quantity of bronzes found in the Pyrgos tombs and the extension of the copper industrial area,<sup>42</sup> which is the largest and most complex found in Cyprus to date. In the Early-Middle Bronze Age tombs of the northern coast (especially Vounous and Lapithos), hundreds of bronzes were found.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the lack of excavated Early-Middle Bronze Age settlements in the northern regions make it difficult to know if these objects came from a local centre of copper production or if they were imported from the south of Cyprus.

Looking at the human representations in clay, it seems that in Early-Middle Bronze Age Cyprus the possession of bronzes was not used as a status symbol. We do not have any clay 'idols' wearing weapons or jewelry, nor are there any bronzes represented in the scenic compositions.<sup>44</sup> The only representations of weapons in clay models are some swords with their sheaths, found in the cemeteries of the north (Vounous and Lapithos). On the contrary, if we want to find status symbols in the Cypriote representations we have to look at the precious clothes indicated by the incised decorations filled with white paste on the clay statuettes. Evidence

of clothes made or interlaced by different kind of fibres and colours are largely documented at Pyrgos by the remains of local and exotic fibres and colours.<sup>45</sup> However, in terms of prestigious goods, we know that by this time in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, the circulation of luxury items included cosmetics and perfumes. Both products are well represented in the list of the industrial activities performed at Pyrgos, probably assigned to the women. All those products needed olive oil to be made, so we could suppose that without the olive oil production the industrial complex of Pyrgos would never have existed.

The discovery of the Mavrachi industrial complex suggests the importance of the female role in a proto-industrial establishment, as the Pyrgos organisation changed from an early *intra moenia* domestic employment into a well-organised industrial system of possible geopolitical significance and social implications, where textile production, presumably a female task, had an important function. The progressive evolution of Cypriote urbanism from the small settlements at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age to the large villages of the Middle Bronze Age is substantial evidence for the deep social change during a progressive formative period, probably linked with the local evolution of technologies for the production of bronzes as well as for the trade of prestigious goods.

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### NOTES

- 1 Gero & Conkey 1991; Engelstad 1991; Claesen 1992.
- 2 Gimbutas 1974; Gimbutas 1982; Gimbutas 1989.
- 3 Ehrenberg 1989. For the Bronze Age, Ehrenberg focuses her attention to the "secondary products revolution", which around 3000 BC considers sheep and cattle, not only as a source of meat and milk, but as a spring of raw materials for spinning and as a working force to plough the fields. These novelties probably started the process of role division between men and women. Women began to control domestic life completely, taking on the engagement to process agricultural materials (provided by men), while the men were engaged in heavier and more dangerous jobs.
- 4 Bolger 1996, 372.
- 5 Karageorghis 1991; Karageorghis 2006.
- 6 Herscher 1991, 45-50.
- 7 Vounous Tomb 22, n°26 (Dikaios 1940, 118-25, pls. VII-VIII; Morris 1985, 281-283, fig. 494; Karageorghis 1991, 139-141, n° VII, 1; Karageorghis 2006, 37-39).
- 8 Flourentzos 2001.
- 9 Karageorghis 1991; Karageorghis 2005.
- 10 Karageorghis 2006, 41-46; for the schematic figures in relief, see Karageorghis 1991, 163 fig. 129 cat. N° XIII.3; for the confronted figurines see the pyxis from Vounous Tomb 2 n°91 (Karageorghis 1991, 132, Cat. N° II, 1).
- 11 Flourentzos 2001; Karageorghis 2005.
- 12 Karageorghis 2005.
- 13 Excluding the enigmatic ceremony of the Vounous bowl (where the only figure possibly linked with a cult ceremony is the one kneeling in front of the triad), the only two compositions really related to religion are the models of Kotsiatis (Karageorghis 1970; Karageorghis 1991). They represent a libation ceremony with a female personage standing by the side of a jar positioned at the feet of a totemic triad, consisting in three flat, "wooden" pillars, surmounted by three bulls' heads. A similar totemic group is present in relief on the wall of the scenic bowl of Vounous, in front of the personage enthroned, but no excavations in Cyprus have found similar features so far. The scene probably indicates an offering of olive oil to the triad, as the shape (Karageorghis & Belgiorio 2005) and the dimension of the jar represented (calculated in comparison with the human figure) is very similar to the jars found in the storage room of Pyrgos. Offerings of olive oil to the divinity are the most reported in the Bible, in the Egyptian hieroglyphs and in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets (Jasink 2006). Additionally, in the winemaking models the vessels related to the wine are jugs and basins, not double handled jars. Different interpretations of the symbolic composition from Kotsiatis do not diminish the importance of these models, which up until today are the only evident expressions of religion in Early-Middle Bronze Age Cyprus (Frankel & Tamvaki 1973; Åström 1988).
- 14 Belgiorio 2004.
- 15 Belgiorio 1997; Belgiorio 2000.
- 16 Belgiorio 2004.
- 17 Belgiorio 2004.
- 18 Belgiorio 2006.
- 19 Coleman et al. 1996; Frankel & Webb 1996.
- 20 Bartoli, Cappelletti & Mattioli 2006, 245-272.
- 21 Flourentzos, Lentini & Belgiorio 2005.
- 22 Large basins, spouted bowls, jugs, amphorae with side spout, funnels, ladles and perfume bottles (Belgiorio 2006, 42-86, figs 1-55).
- 23 Scala & Lentini 2006.
- 24 Bartoli, Cappelletti & Mattioli 2006.
- 25 The entire procedure is described in detail in Belgiorio 2006.
- 26 Belgiorio 2004, figs. 7, 10, 38.
- 27 Belgiorio, Lentini & Scala 2005.
- 28 Belgiorio 2005.
- 29 Belgiorio 2006.
- 30 Barber 1994.
- 31 Giardino 2000.
- 32 Belgiorio 2007.
- 33 Tylecote 1976; Craddock, 1995 and related bibliography.
- 34 Tylecote 1962, 25-28.
- 35 Forbes 1936.
- 36 Gascromatography made in the Gascromatography Institute of CNR-Rome by Massimo Sinibaldi, and a Bellier test consisting in the extraction with  $\text{HNO}_3$ , removal of the supernatant and addition of Fluoroglucina dissolved in petroleum ether.
- 37 Optical Microscope observations, Ignate Coupled Plasma (ICP, Optical Spectrometer Perkins Elmer mod.40), Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluores-

cence (ED-XRF), X-Ray Diffraction (XRD).

38 Baldi 1994.

39 To van der Steen (2002), a tribe is a spontaneous aggregation of people, who decides to live together establishing rules among the members of a community.

40 Herscher 1991.

41 Sumner 1881.

42 The 13 objects found in Tomb 21 is a unique case (Belgiorno 1997).

43 Balthazar 1990.

44 With the exception of a "spear" (?) represented in relief at the side of a very schematic human figure on a Red Polished III Jug in a private collection in Nicosia (Flourentzos 1995 and 2001, 161-2; Karageorghis 2006, 31). The figure was interpreted as a warrior guarding some sort of enclosure containing eight lumps of unidentified material and a bucranium.

45 According to Homer (*Odyssey* XIII, 367-369), the "Ειματα εύποιητα" came third in value for exchange after gold and copper.

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## PLANK FIGURES AS CRADLEBOARDS

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This paper introduces a new interpretation of plank figures as abstracted and anthropomorphized representations of cradleboards. A cradleboard is a board made of wood or woven rushes and fitted with bedding or a pouch into which an infant is strapped in order to be carried on its mother's back (Fig. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12). The proposal is based on parallels with EC and MC terracottas representing cradleboards, as well as with Native American examples. For understanding the possible cultural significance of cradleboards in Cyprus in the Bronze Age we have turned to ethnographic data to suggest further avenues for interpretation.

Many scholars have written on Cypriot terracottas, and especially on the enigmatic plank figures, but most have assumed that the objects represent mortal or divine female figures, such as Astarte, who were connected with procreation and fertility. But if not women, then men, or at least some kind of generic human, whether ancestor or servant, or possibly a bisexual figure is being depicted.<sup>1</sup> This paper departs from earlier studies in rejecting the view that the planks were schematized female forms or even "embodied" entities at all. In-

stead, they are read as inanimate objects that were given human features to conjure their numinous qualities.

Dramatically different from the 'operative', three-dimensional nude figures animating the narrative scenes on pots, the 'static' planks, like stelai, are flat, rectangular forms with features reduced to staring eyes and a beak-like nose.<sup>2</sup> Their flatness and oddly monumental quality reminded Karageorghis of the aniconic *xoana* of later times: large, plank-like cult figures made of wood and incised. The existence of such statues in Early Bronze Age Cyprus is suggested by the terracotta shrine models from Kotchati that show a worshipper before a pillared wall surmounted by bulls' heads.<sup>3</sup> The pillars on the walls of these model shrines may in turn be related to the piers and lintels – and in one case, a worshipper – sculpted in relief at the entrance of certain tombs. This correspondence is one of a constellation of observations that point to the existence of funerary cults and ancestor worship.<sup>4</sup> Keswani related the plank figures to this spiritual milieu, and followed Talalay and Cullen in defining them as 'generic ancestor' figures.<sup>5</sup> She stressed the importance of collective identity, 'kin-

ship ties' above individual identity.<sup>6</sup> We agree that the planks probably do refer to family identity, but this characteristic is also very much in the spirit of cradleboards. Rather than either a sculptural or architectural prototype, however, we propose that the plank or upright that served as the physical model for the terracottas' shape was the cradleboard.

The plank figures do not portray either a man's or a woman's body in any style. And why should they be the only group of terracottas to use geometric or linear abstraction to render three-dimensional forms, when other categories of terracottas adopted a rounded, representational style, albeit highly simplified?<sup>7</sup> Typologically, therefore, the plank figures are here considered to belong to the class comprising models of things: furniture and housewares, horns, sheaths, knives, boats, and cradleboards.

Their closest kin must be the anthropomorphized cradleboards (below), and the pots with faces that perhaps, like the plank figures, were "containers for spirits".<sup>8</sup> Thus, the flatness of the planks was neither symbolic nor the result of an aesthetic choice, as some have thought, but was merely based on appearances.<sup>9</sup> Neces-

sarily, this interpretative inversion, from objectified human to humanized object, radically alters our understanding of the planks' meaning(s) and symbolic role(s). Yet most of the stylistic features of the planks that to this writer so clearly evoke cradleboards have already been observed and commented on in detail by others. In fact, almost all the evidence needed to make the case for cradleboards may be found in the literature. Perhaps the connection between planks and cradleboards has not previously been elucidated because the female figure looms so large in our own culture, overshadowing other views. And admittedly, North American ethnographic material, the most illuminating source of comparanda for cradleboards, is certainly distant in space and time from the Bronze Age Mediterranean. Yet it provides one of our most valuable sources of documentation for both morphology and social practices, as others have also already discovered.<sup>10</sup>

### Plank figures represent objects not figures

To begin with typology, the identification of planks as female figures makes no logical sense within any of the existing systems of classification because the planks' only identifiable sexual feature, breasts, is not consistently shown throughout any individual subclass, not even among the figures carrying cradleboarded infants, the so-called '*kourotróphoi*'. Karageorghis' notion<sup>11</sup> that all *kourotróphoi* must by definition be female is belied by the existence of a male figure tending a cradleboarded infant that was once part of a scenic composition on a vase.<sup>12</sup> Equally, the idea that bodily

surface display is intended by the incised designs of elaborate garments and jewelry, and that these necessarily feminize the figure,<sup>13</sup> is based on a socially constructed notion of gender that may or may not be applicable to Early – Middle Bronze Age Cypriot society, and in any case can not be demonstrated from the evidence, given the infrequency of sexual characteristics among the planks and the paucity of detailed depictions of clothing among the frequently sexed figures in scenic compositions.<sup>14</sup> In short, there is no incontestably, recognizably feminine class or sub-class in the polymorphous family of plank or slab or shoulder figurines.



Fig. 1a & 1b. Red Polished Plank Figurine, front and back, ht. 27.1 cm. (Photo by the author; Courtesy Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy).

Although several exhaustive typologies of plank figures have been constructed, no intelligible patterns have emerged – or at least none that we are able to perceive. Clearly, there are several broad categories – one head, two heads, rounded at the bottom, etc. – but within these, there is too much individual variation in details, especially of the incised decoration, to permit the creation of more refined and meaningful formal groupings. One of the most interesting results of a Campo's comparative statistical study of the planks was just this.<sup>15</sup> As she candidly concluded, the "analysis of the associations between figures did not prove very helpful",

and, "too much attention has been paid to these [superficial] differences and too little to intrinsic similarity".<sup>16</sup> The common features that emerge from the bewildering array of types are few: only the wide, flat surfaces and plank-like shape; the nose and eyes, and the incised designs on front and back.<sup>17</sup>

#### The ornament of the planks: cradleboard coverings

It has been widely observed that the designs, primarily rudimentary geometric patterns in narrow bands, must represent textiles and ornaments, and further, that this dress completely obscures the figure beneath.<sup>18</sup> What is the nature of this clothing and jewelry? The closest parallels, and which may help to decode these patterns, are found in the rich repertoire of cradleboards and their coverings. For instance, concentric incised arcs on the planks, sometimes more widely spaced and joined by hatched diagonal incisions or combined with



Fig. 2. Red Polished Plank Figurine, ht. 17.8 cm. (Courtesy The Menil Collection, Houston, CA 6139).



Fig. 3. Indian baby on a cradleboard (Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota 0086-0692).

small round holes, are usually interpreted as necklaces, although they do not always hang only around the neck of the figures, but may also be arrayed across the chest between the shoulders or even lower on the belly (Fig. 1, 5, 10).<sup>19</sup> The necklaces may also be suspended from the breasts when these are present (Fig. 1), an arrangement visually echoed in the decoration of a cradle from North Dakota (Fig. 3). An even more arresting comparison is the multiple ropes of beads festooned on the front of the ornate cradle pouch illustrated in Fig. 4. In Cyprus, such strands were probably made of faience. According to Washbourne,<sup>20</sup> the comb-like, or tassel motif sometimes incised on the back of the planks and more rarely, on the front, should be also be un-



Fig. 4. *Sabina Minthorn and Babe* (Moorhouse Collection, PHo36\_4339, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon libraries; image courtesy of Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon libraries).

derstood as jewelry.<sup>21</sup> But Belgioro's first interpretation,<sup>22</sup> that the object is a small purse made of skin or material decorated with fringes and suspended from a cord, perfectly fits with the idea of a cradleboard, because Native Americans did in fact hang such small fringed pouches on cradles.<sup>23</sup> Instead of Belgioro's amulets, perfumes or

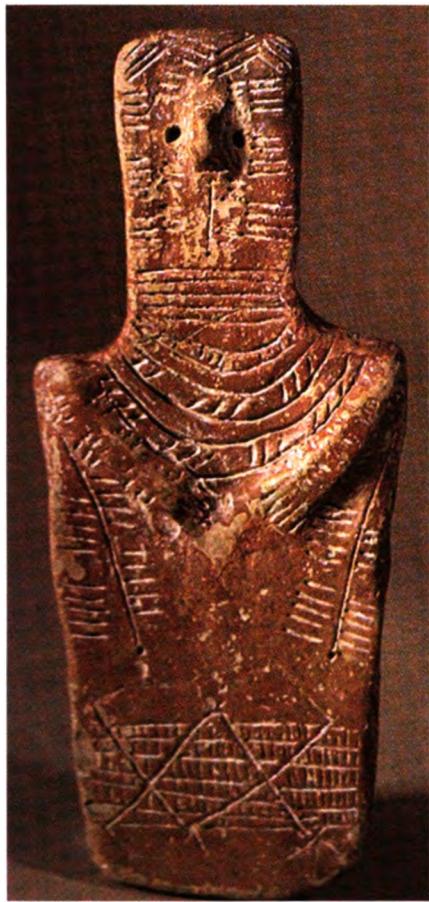


Fig. 5. Red Polished Plank Figure, ht. 12.5 cm., Desmond Morris Collection (Morris 1985, pl. 179; Courtesy Desmond Morris).

medicinal herbs, the Native American pouches contained the baby's umbilical cord, a precious relic associated with the child's life force.<sup>24</sup>

The horizontal incised bands that often encircle the planks resemble the woven sashes that on Native American cradles were used to tie the infant's bedding – or the infant – to the board (Fig. 6, 7).<sup>25</sup> Both American and Cypriot cradleboards could have criss-cross lacing over the bedding, as shown on the cradled infant in the White Painted group in the Metropolitan Museum of a seated

mother with the cradleboard on her lap.<sup>26</sup> But on other cradleboards, the babies were tied with sashes bound around them and the board and knotted at the side, as shown on the planks and also on at least one Cypriot cradle model as well as on the cradled infants with *kourotrophoi*.<sup>27</sup> The diagonally incised lines occasionally depicted one on either side of the front of planks are also part of the cradles' bedding and not arms, as has often been stated.<sup>28</sup> They may appear side-by-side with plastically modeled arms, both on planks and on *kourotrophoi*, and should therefore be read as elements of the costume rather than as a second, stick-like pair of arms.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, like the necklaces, they may be depicted with beads or pendants along their length or hanging from their ends, or with fringes, as on Fig. 5, which may be compared to the cradleboard pictured in Fig. 7.

The emphasis on adornment and the variety of fashions may be a means of indicating individual persons who are dressed for a particular formal ceremony marking an important stage in their life, such as death or marriage.<sup>30</sup> A Campo, seeing the planks as images of mortal women, thought they could have been tokens of identity or status exchanged among communities as symbolic of the marriage-contract. Certainly, an explanation along these lines suits the planks' multiplicity of patterns and absence of corporeality far better than that which makes them into an immutable deity, who would presumably have a limited number of fixed sets of attributes, and in the case of a fertility or mother goddesses, prominent sexual characteristics. Just consider how the planks contrast with

the formal similarity and voluptuous nudity of the Astarte figures! We therefore agree with those who doubt that the planks were representations of goddesses, or intended to be used in sympathetic magic connected with fertility.<sup>31</sup> Setting aside the interpretation of the sexless planks as fertility goddesses, readings that instead connect the objects to the social aspect of individuals and temporality obviate many puzzles of classification and interpretation.<sup>32</sup> Interpreting the objects as cradleboards solves a few more difficulties, beginning with the vexing question of the breasts.

Most of the plank figures are devoid of sexual characteristics but approximately one-third do have



Fig. 6. Red Polished Plank Figure ht. 20.3 cm., Desmond Morris Collection (with modern sashes for comparison), (Morris 1985, pl. 177; Courtesy Desmond Morris).

small, widely spaced bosses on their shoulders that are thought to be breasts and to identify the figures as women (Figs. 1, 2, 6, 9). But if these bosses are significant sexual markers, then logically, their absence should also be meaningful, and most of the planks would therefore represent men. Merrillees suggested that the small "domed button" shapes could even represent men's breasts.<sup>33</sup> Flourenzos and Belgioro pursued this line of thought to its logical conclusion, making all breastless figures male,<sup>34</sup> but others consider all the planks as female, whether breasted or not, with their invisible (female)



Fig. 7. Pawnee family (detail), Cradleboard with Morningstar Design (Courtesy Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Cunningham-Prettyman Collection #144).

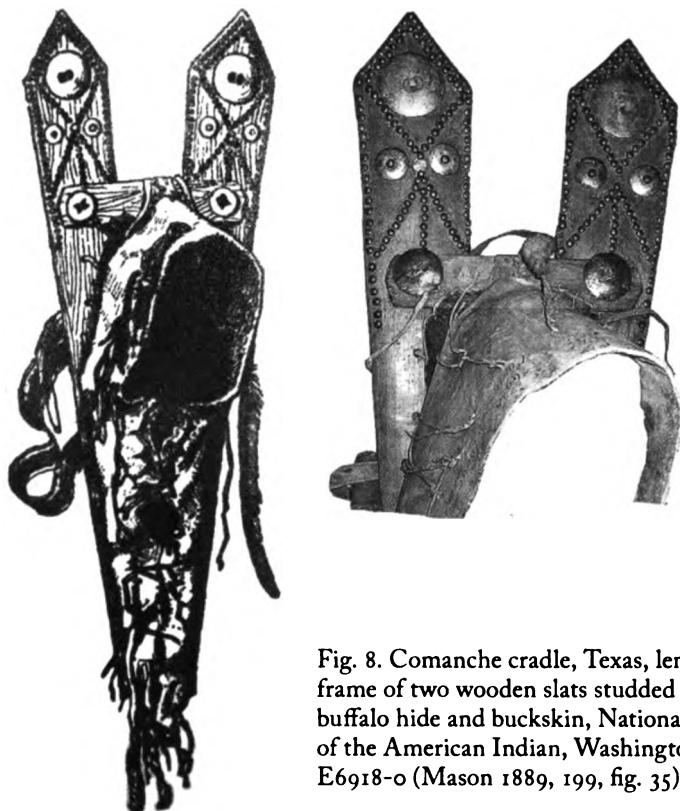


Fig. 8. Comanche cradle, Texas, length 42", frame of two wooden slats studded with brass, buffalo hide and buckskin, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, no. E6918-o (Mason 1889, 199, fig. 35).

sexual characteristics hidden under the clothing. The artists, however, did not carry the dress designs over the breasts. Rather, they applied the clay pellets on top of the incised bands. The "breasts" could therefore be read as ornaments on the outside of the wrappings, something like the pair of disk-shaped brooches attached on the front of the cradle pouch in Fig. 3, for instance. The bosses may be toroid or conical and are usually pierced, resembling spindle whorls or disks (Fig. 1, 2).<sup>35</sup> They might also represent a pillow. The Cypriots did sometimes use dumbbell-shaped head supports on their cradleboards, as depicted by the two painted circles on the cradleboard model (Fig. 11), and exhibited on a Yaqui cradle from Sonora, Mexico (Fig. 12).<sup>36</sup> Understandably,

the occasional translation of the pendants or pillows into breasts was the result of an anthropomorphism of inanimate objects whose shape suggested a corresponding human form. This occurred especially in the more elaborated and naturalistic slab figures and in a few of the *kourotrophoi*<sup>37</sup> – although in spite of the subject matter, breasts were not compulsory in this group.<sup>38</sup> It may be noted that in other classes of terracottas, anthropomorphism increasingly developed towards the end of EC III and in the Middle Cypriot period.<sup>39</sup> Another possible explication of the bosses takes shape when one compares the position and form of the brass disks attached to the ends of the two planks making up the Comanche cradle from Texas and the breasts and faces on the highly



Fig. 9. Red Polished Plank Figure, Lapithos T. 21, ht. 28 cm., Cyprus Museum no. A1 (Morris 1985, Fig. 222; Courtesy Desmond Morris).



Fig. 10. Red Polished Plank Figure, Lapithos T. 18, no. 206, ht. 23.5 cm., Cyprus Museum no. A4 (Morris 1985, Fig. 224; Courtesy Desmond Morris).



Fig. 11. White Painted Cradleboard model, length 16 cm., (Courtesy Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, Inv. no. P.298, and V. Karageorghis).



Fig. 12. Yaqui cradle, cane, Sonora, Mexico, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington (Mason 1887, 185, fig. 16).

abstracted double-headed plank figures (Fig. 8 and 10). The parallel also suggests a possible source of the double- and triple-headed forms. On the present analogy, they reflect other types of cradleboard construction, and need not be different in symbolic meaning from the single-headed type.<sup>40</sup>

The four types of Native American cradleboard illustrated in this article represent only a fraction of the tremendous variety of forms and decorations that have been made.<sup>41</sup> There may also have been more variety in Cyprus than the eighteen surviving terracotta models attest. Each of the Native American cradleboards is unique, as were probably also the Cypriot ones, if not in structure then in the coverings and decoration. Generally, American cradleboards have a body or frame, a bed, a covering, a pillow or some other device for the head, lashing, sometimes a footrest and usually a bow or arch to protect the head.<sup>42</sup> The bow or arch is either fixed or collapsible. As we have seen, the swaddled baby was lashed to its bed by broad bands of soft skin that were later replaced by woven sashes or long cotton rags that passed around the baby and the frame.<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, the board had a skin pulled over it leaving an opening in front that was laced together.

#### The use of cradleboards in Bronze Age Cyprus

The use of cradleboards in Cyprus is attested both by the terracotta models and by osteological evidence for headshaping. The use of cradleboards can result in the intentional or unintentional flattening of the back of the infant's head (occipital flattening),

or in other types of head shaping, depending on whether, how long, and in what position, the child's head was held fixed against the board.<sup>44</sup> It should be noted, however, that the use of cradleboards did not necessarily result in head shaping because during the Early and Middle Cypriot periods, "headshaping occur[ed] in moderate forms only, and [was] never universal within populations".<sup>45</sup> Head shaping was therefore not necessarily connected with cradleboard use and conversely, the absence of head shaping was not necessarily indicative of the absence of cradleboards.<sup>46</sup> Variations could have been a matter of 'family preference'.<sup>47</sup> Cradleboards with and without babies in or on them, are represented in both Red Polished and White Painted wares as independent objects, on the arm of *kourotrophoi*, and in 'scenic' or narrative compositions (Fig. 13-15). With rare exceptions in the scenic compositions, where the arches may have been collapsed, the cradleboards all show this device at the top of the cradle as well as some kind of bedding decorated with bands of geometric ornament.

Cradleboards were the most common type of terracotta furniture model in the later Early and Middle Cypriot periods. After this time, along with plank figures, they ceased to be depicted in Cypriot art either as freestanding models or in the arms of the Late Cypriot *kourotrophoi*, whose babies are neither cradled nor swaddled.<sup>48</sup> But cradles did not vanish from Cypriot life, judging by the continuation of headshaping practices.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the iconographic shift away from representations of cradles and plank figures had something to do

with changing conditions of community and family life due to the political and social upheavals that accompanied the opening up of the island to the eastern Mediterranean world during the Middle Cypriot period.<sup>50</sup> This is a complex question that is beyond the scope of this short study. What we can say is that the multiple EC – MC terracottas of cradleboarded infants – over thirty preserved – is surely indicative of the high social and symbolic importance attached at that time to this peculiarly Cypriot custom. 'Peculiarly' Cypriot because surprisingly, there is nothing comparable in the art of other neighboring, pre-Classical cultures, which also underscores the special character of this cultural manifestation. The closest parallel that Theodossiadou could find was a cradled child from 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Rhodes.<sup>51</sup> In the Bronze Age Cyclades, in pharaonic Egypt, and possibly in Mycenaean Greece, infants were carried in a sling or in a basket, but depictions of infants are rare, and cradle models are not attested outside of Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> Was the distribution of the cradleboard really as restricted as the surviving evidence indicates, or conversely, why were these objects so prominent in Cypriot iconography and not anywhere else? Their frequency in Cyprus led Theodossiadou to wonder whether they could they have been "connected to a "cult" at a time of high child mortality",<sup>53</sup> but the evidence for infant mortality is scant and difficult to assess.<sup>54</sup>

A connection between plank figures and burials has been posited, in which the figures symbolize rebirth and regeneration.<sup>55</sup> But there is no concrete evidence that they were particularly associated with infant

or child interments, or with women, who might have died in childbirth.<sup>56</sup> Most figures are without provenance, and while almost all of the excavated planks were found in tombs, overall, they were actually not as well represented in burials as might be expected, had their primary meaning and purpose been funerary.<sup>57</sup> Webb counted just 18 female figurines from over 299 EC interments, or roughly 6%, and a similar proportion among MC burials. This led her to conclude, "...there is little to suggest that they were important in funerary ideology other than as valued possessions which occasionally found their way into the graves".<sup>58</sup> The relative paucity of planks in tombs, as well as the growing evidence for their use in settlements – thirty-five from Marki-*Alo-nia*, including a fragment showing evidence of mending, indicates that these objects might be kept in the home for long periods and even recycled, rather than being created primarily to serve in funerary rituals.<sup>59</sup> The distribution of fragmentary, 'poorly treated' planks in homes also points away from cult statues to something more personal and familial.<sup>60</sup>

### The iconography of the cradleboard

The similarities of form and decoration between plank figures and some of the freestanding cradle models are striking, so much so, that Merrillees and Des Gagniers & Karageorghis,<sup>61</sup> initially took the cradle in Fig. 13a & b for a plank with "a 'horizontal basket shaped handle on head' derived from the hood on the model cradles".<sup>62</sup> As already noted, both planks and cradles are decorated with horizontal bands of the same simple geometric



Fig. 13a & 13b. Red Polished Cradleboard model, front and back, length 19.2 cm., Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, no. A15 (Karageorghis 1991a, pl. LII: 4; Courtesy Cyprus Department of Antiquities and V. Karageorghis).

designs representing bindings. Incised zigzags on the backs of the planks are read as locks of hair but they also appear on at least two of the cradle model backs. On Fig. 1 and 13b, the hair is rendered identically.<sup>63</sup> Morris considered the formal similarity between the planks and the cradles but rejected the idea that the former might be stylized depictions of swaddled babies because the planks are sometimes shown holding babies themselves, and it would make no sense for a baby to be holding another baby.<sup>64</sup> But the *kourerotrophi* plank figures are so different in spirit from the mother-and-child compositions in narrative scenes. The rectangular forms of plank and planked child mirror one another – the child-plank inert and as flat as a board like its mother.<sup>65</sup> The infant held in the scenic compo-



Fig. 14. Red Polished Cradleboard Figure, length 16.5 cm., Pierides Collection (Morris 1985, fig. 237; Courtesy Desmond Morris).



Fig. 15. Red Polished Cradleboard Figure, Lapithos T. 15, length 18.9 cm., Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, no. A21 (Karageorghis 1991a, pl. LII: 5; Courtesy Cyprus Department of Antiquities and V. Karageorghis).

sition representing women around a trough, on the other hand, although possibly only swaddled rather than planked, is not only not stiff, but endearingly lively and alert both in facial expression and gesture.<sup>66</sup> Morris' difficulty disappears if the planks are personified cradles, rather than either mothers or swaddled babies. The *kourerotrophos* is not a mother-and-child, but a personified cradle holding a cradled infant. The redundancy of the image reinforces it: the plank is the symbolic and magical manifestation of the cradle, while the one in which the baby lies is its physical cradle. At least three of the cradle models are actually anthropomorphized.<sup>67</sup> On the backboard of the Pierides cradle and on a fragmentary cradle from Marki that is almost identical to it, eyes, eyebrows and nose have been

incised with dots and short strokes (Fig. 14).<sup>68</sup> The 'double cradle' from Lapithos, with its two arches (Fig. 15) has a nose shown in relief and, according to Karageorghis, also "two punctures for the eyes and nostrils, horizontal groove for the mouth".<sup>69</sup> The cylindrical blob on the left must be a child. The two disks ('breasts') are present, and below these are the ghostly outlines of crossed arms and hands. Two other planks show the anthropomorphized cradles' arms together with the little stumps that we suggest represent a child's folded arms inside the cradle pouch, as indicated in the White Painted cradle model in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>70</sup>

The only material objection to the identification of plank figures with cradleboards that some may raise is that if the plank figures are projec-

tions of cradleboards, where are the arches? The arches appear on virtually all the cradle models, so why not on the planks? The answer must be that the arch was omitted for formal as well as thematic reasons. The planks are emphatically flat with only a few shallow relief features. A three-dimensional open hoop would detract from their iconic presence, if it was at all visually obtrusive and obscured or overshadowed the face. When seen head-on, the turban-like headgear, sometimes executed in relief, worked just as well to suggest the hoop (compare Fig. 2, 5, 6, 13). It was not necessary to translate the arch literally for the symbolic purpose of the planks. Besides, the arches inevitably broke off, as indeed they have on almost all the cradle models, which possibly served a more informal purpose than the planks.<sup>71</sup>

As for the symbolic significance of plank figures, their identification with cradleboards raises many intriguing new possibilities when we turn for ideas to the Native American customs, beliefs and practices connected with the cradleboards' creation and use. Although the connection between the Cypriot planks and funerary rituals is not certainly established, there may well have been a connection with death, in view of the fragility of a human life in its first year. The general purpose of the planks then, would have been apotropaic. Among Native Americans, the elaboration of magical ceremonies before and after the birth of a child, and during its first year of life, were in response not only to the mystery and the blessing of birth, but also to high infant mortality.<sup>72</sup> From tribe to tribe, the customs and rituals associated with this first

phase of life were many and varied, yet there are certain recurring themes that can not help but strike a familiar chord to those who have considered the Bronze Age Cypriots' possible views on mortality, identity and gender. As a brief introduction to this topic, we note the following:

1. Family ties: Native American cradles were usually made by close family members, often a grandmother, sometime the father; sometimes a group of female or male relatives, but not professional cradle-makers. This explains the uniqueness of their designs: they were made to order by non-specialists, not stockpiled.<sup>73</sup> The making and the giving of a cradle was an expression of family relations, bonds, and obligations.

2. Social and individual identity: The multiplicity of designs bespoke family or tribal identity.<sup>74</sup> The presentation and first use of the cradleboard by the infant was an important ceremonial event. It was sometimes connected with the child's naming ceremony. Among the Montana Indians, an elaborate cradle was usually offered as a gift when a child was given in adoption.<sup>75</sup>

3. Gender: Gender might be indicated in the abstract, geometric ornaments on the cradle or it might not.<sup>76</sup> If the cradle was made before the child was born, the sex was unknown and therefore not indicated. Sometimes boys' cradles were gendered and girls' were not. Every combination of gendering or non-gendering was possible. As Knapp and Meskel observed, "certain artifacts may reveal characteristics of individuals and sex *per se* should not be regarded as a principal identifying feature". For cradles, certainly, sex was only one, and not

necessarily, the defining characteristic.

4. Magical protection of life and health: The cradle was intimately connected with the infant's physical self. It was considered a sacred object with apotropaic powers that could provide both physical and magical protection to the infant's body and spirit during its first precarious year of life.<sup>77</sup> As Washbourne aptly put it, in connection with Cypriot figures, "the protective cradleboard takes on the role of mother".<sup>78</sup> A contemporary Native American described it as "a house for the beginning of life" and "a safe haven for our children".<sup>79</sup> In some groups, the cradle was used for several children in the same family and passed down.<sup>80</sup> If the children were healthy, another family might request the cradle, believing that it would make their child grow up free from illness.<sup>81</sup> In that case, the cradle possessed health or life-giving powers. In other groups, however, a new cradle was used for each child and each individual baby's identity was inseparable from its cradle, like a protective shell.

5. Death: Cradles were used for a minimum of about 5 months up to about a year. They were therefore associated with the most vulnerable period in a person's life. If the child died during its 'cradle days', the cradle was discarded or destroyed, or buried with the child, or placed on its grave.<sup>82</sup> Among the Montana Indians, after the death of an infant, the mother carried a 'mourning cradle' filled with black quills and feathers for up to one year.

Native American ideas and practices connected with cradles reveal that the making of the objects, their decoration, their use by young infants, their association with death, and the

meanings invested in cradleboards through all of these steps, combined to make them exceptionally powerful symbolic vehicles for expressing feelings about identity within the context of family ties, and the protection and fostering of those relationships. Thinking of plank figures as modeled on cradleboards rather than on the human body solves many of the

problems that have beset the formal analyses of their shape and decoration. As for whether the cradleboard could acquire a symbolic significance equal to that of a mother goddess, one has only to consider the rest of the terracotta repertoire: the number of depictions of cradles, of both individual male and female figures associated with infants in cradles, or of pairs or

groups of busy adult figures that also included cradled infants, to see that the emphasis, at least in the iconography, was on family and community rather than on sexuality and fertility. With this social background in mind, the symbolic importance of the cradleboard and the interpretation of the planks as cradleboards become more readily understandable.

#### NOTES

- 1 i.e. Åström 1972, 254; Merrillees 1980, 173-174; Belgioro 1984, 16; Orphanides 1990, 47-50; Talalay & Cullen 2002; Keswani 2005, 349-350.
- 2 'Operative' vs 'static': Merrillees 1980, 172.
- 3 Des Gagniers & Karageorghis 1976, 8; Karageorghis 1991a, 49; Karageorghis 1991b, 11, 14; Washbourne 1991b, 54.
- 4 Keswani 2005, 349-350, and references cited there.
- 5 Talalay & Cullen 2002.
- 6 Keswani 2005, 361-362.
- 7 Karageorghis 1991a, 49.
- 8 Morris 1985, 150-163; Pluciennik 2002, 227; Karageorghis 1991b, 12; Karageorghis 1991a, pls. LIX-LXIV.
- 9 Morris 1985, 136; Karageorghis 1991a, 49; a Campo 119.
- 10 Lorentz 2003; Mogelonsky 1988, 233, 234 n. 33; Knapp & Meskell 1997, 186.
- 11 Karageorghis 1991a, 50.
- 12 Karageorghis 1991a, 141, SC19, pl. LXXXV:6.
- 13 Karageorghis 1977: 54-60.
- 14 Merrillees 1980, 181; Knapp & Meskell 1994, 188.
- 15 a Campo 1994.
- 16 a Campo 1994, 116, 120, 147.
- 17 a Campo 1994, 145-146.
- 18 Morris 1985, 161; Washbourne 1991b, 46; a Campo 1994, 120.
- 19 Karageorghis 1991a, pls. XXI: 1, XXII: 3, XXVI: 2; Flourenzos 1975, 31; Orphanides 1986, 102; Orphanides 1988, 188; Washbourne 2000a, 89; Washbourne 2000b, 97.
- 20 Washbourne 2000b.
- 21 Washbourne 2000b; Washbourne 2000a, 82-89. See also Morris' (1985, 138-141) detailed analysis of the comb designs, which he interprets as schematic representations of human figures.
- 22 Belgioro 1984, 37.
- 23 A few of these pouches are illustrated in Catlin (1876, 232). More recently, Belgioro (1996) proposed comparing the 'combs' to sistra.
- 24 Mason 1889, 203.
- 25 Mason 1889, 184. All the plank figures illustrated in this article have horizontal bands of ornament that are the same front and back, Karageorghis 1991a, pls. XXIII, 2; XXX, 3; XXXV, 1, and XXXII, 3, except for the uppermost wavy line.
- 26 Karageorghis 2000, 22:8.
- 27 Karageorghis 1991a, pl. LII:2; pl. XLVI, 1; 78, Fig. 80.
- 28 Karageorghis 1977, 55; Merrillees 1980, 175; Belgioro 1984, 18-19; Orphanides 1988, 188; Karageorghis 1991a, 49-50.
- 29 a Campo 1994, 104; Morris 1985, 162, 148, Fig. 228 from Lapithos T. 313B; Karageorghis 1991a, 77-78; Washbourne 2000b, 12.
- 30 Belgioro 1984, 34; a Campo 1994, 167-168.
- 31 Orphanides 1986, 70; a Campo 1994, 167.
- 32 Belgioro 1984, 34; a Campo 1994, 165-169; Knapp & Meskell 1997, 187, 199.
- 33 Merrillees 1980, 174.
- 34 Flourenzos 1975, 30; Belgioro 1984, 34.
- 35 See Washbourne (2000a, 98) for spindle whorl weights at the ends of the 'arms'.
- 36 Yaqui cradles were made of "reeds such as arrow shafts" that were lashed together. The pillow was a "bundle of little splints laid on transversely", with a pad of rags at either end, Mason 1889, 184.

37 Karageorghis 1991a, types Bi and Bj, pls. XLVIII-LI.

38 a Campo 1994, 145.

39 Des Gagniers & Karageorghis 1976, 7.

40 Washbourne 2000b, 45.

41 Mason 1889, *infra*; Mason 1910, 358.

42 Mason 1910, 357.

43 Fletscher & La Flesch 1992, 327; Mason 1889, 184.

44 Domurad 1986, 143, 162.

45 Lorentz 2003.

46 Theodossiadou 1991, 50.

47 Domurad 1986, 171.

48 Merrillees 1988, *infra*.

49 Theodossiadou 1991, 48-49, 50; Domurad 1986, 218.

50 a Campo 1994, 169; Knapp & Meskell 1997, 199.

51 Theodossiadou 1991, 52-53.

52 Viz. the Cycladic marble figures from the Collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, 2000.81.2, 2000.81.5; Zglinicki 1979, 72-73, 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty relief; Janssen & Janssen 1990, 21, fig. 10, reliefs from the tombs of Huy, TT40 and Neferhotep, TT49; French 1971, 144, pl. 23b, Phi type figurine from Mycenae, although according to French it is uncertain if the child is carried in "what resembles a kangaroo pouch on the chest" or just enfolded by the mother's arms; aside from the unprovenanced marbles cited above. In stark contrast to Bronze Age Cyprus, kourotrophoi are virtually unknown in either Cycladic or Minoan art, and representations of children are rare, Rutter 2004.

53 Theodossiadou 1991, 49.

54 It appears to have been quite high in Egypt in New Kingdom times, however, Janssen & Janssen 1990, 21.

55 Belgioro 1984, 34; Merrillees 1980, 184; Merrillees 1987, 53; Washbourne 2000a, 37; Washbourne 2000b, 39.

56 Karageorghis (1977, 56) tries to adduce evidence for the association of plank figures with burials of women at Lapithos, but the data is inconclusive, a Campo 1994, 109-110, 113.

57 a Campo 1994, 166; Keswani 2005, 375.

58 Webb 1992, 90.

59 Frankel & Webb 2006, 156-157. For figures from settlement contexts see reference in Frankel and Webb 1996b, 188, and Frankel and Webb 2006, 157. I am very grateful to J. Webb for kindly sending me the text and relevant figures from the latest *Marki-Alonia* publication. A fragmentary White Painted cradle model (with baby) was discovered in 2006 in a MC household context at Politiko-*Troullia* (mentioned by kind permission of S. Falconer and P. Fall, Directors of the Politiko-*Troullia* excavations).

60 Mogelonsky 1996, 200.

61 Merrillees 1980, 1740; Des Gagniers & Karageorghis 1975, 35, no. 12.

62 Merrillees (1980, 178, no. 5) also noted that a plank-shaped figure from Lapithos T. 316, no. 47 "seems to suggest an imitation of a cradle with a small child, but is too badly preserved to allow of an interpretation in details".

63 Orphanides 1988, 188; Karageorghis 1991a; Washbourne 2000b, 39.

64 Morris 1985, 152.

65 Washbourne 2000, 39.

66 Karageorghis 1991a, 123, 144-145, pl. CIV, 1.

67 Washbourne 2000b, 38.

68 Frankel & Webb 2006, Fig. 5.1: P9792.

69 Karageorghis 1991a, 96.

70 Karageorghis 1991a, pls. L:4, LI:3.

71 The Native Americans also made miniature or model cradles for use in formal rituals, as toys, or to mark rites of passage, Vankeuren 1994, 9; Lenssen, Whiteford & Brown McGreevy 1981, 3.

72 Feder 1978, 41.

73 Lenssen, Whiteford & Brown McGreevy 1981, 3; Sioux Indian Museum 1988; Hail 2000, 18, 33-34; Bibby 2004, 38, 64, 77, 111.

74 Hail 2000, frontispiece, 32, 67.

75 Mason 1889, 185.

76 Bibby 2004, 38, 63.

77 Vankeuren 1994, 10; Bibby 2004, 108; Lenssen, Whiteford & Brown McGreevy 1981, 3.

78 Washbourne 2000b, 39.

79 Hail 2000, frontispiece.

80 Mason 1910, 357.

81 Hilger 1951, 21; Feder 1978, 46.

82 Mason 1910, 358; Hail 2000, 32.

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## GIRL, WOMAN, MOTHER, GODDESS: BRONZE AGE CYPRIO TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

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In fig. 16 of Paul Åström's *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: The Middle Cypriot Bronze Age* (Fig. 1) is presented a series of anthropomorphic terracotta figurines. They range from (Fig. 1) a relatively elaborate, somewhat three-dimensional version of the traditional ECIII 'plank figurine' to (fig. 12) a spindle-shaped, Dark Slip Ware figurine, which I have come to think of as 'the Mermaid'. This range displays the core of this paper, specifically, the evolution of these anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from the plank figurines of the Cypriot Early Bronze Age through to the so-called 'bird-faced figurines' of the LCII and III periods. As I shall argue, this family of images has always pertained, to one extent or another, to the feminine, and that changes over time are not so much an engendering as an increasing emphasis on sexuality, ultimately manifesting as images of a divine female.

### Female?

The most controversial aspect of this hypothesis lies at the very beginning in the nature and meaning of the ECIII plank figurines (Fig. 2). As with perhaps far too many images from the ancient world, these figurines were

early on identified as female, and based on that gender further categorized as either goddess/fertility figurines or possible *ushabti* images (*ersatz* wives/concubines for the dead).<sup>1</sup> Vassos Karageorghis recognized the ECIII plank figurines either as cult functionaries or, especially in the case of the multi-headed varieties, as deities,<sup>2</sup> while the transitional MCI versions of the plank figurines (discussed below) "illustrate the persistence of the fertility goddess or mother goddess type which we see first in the Chalcolithic period..."<sup>3</sup> By contrast, Orphanides has argued that, "the female figures may represent the wife (wives) or female servant(s) of the dead", although he also suggests that "we cannot exclude the possibility that some of our figurines represent goddesses with a kind of sexual purpose".<sup>4</sup> Morris admits his "bias favouring the fertility charm interpretation of prehistoric Cypriot figurines..." but later he asks, "Could they after all be substitute figures – effigies of widows placed in their husbands' graves to accompany them in death...?"<sup>5</sup>

Other scholars maintained the female identity of the images but came to less 'fertile' (or 'dead') theories regarding their meaning(s). Mogolonsky, for example, in her study of Early

and Middle Bronze Age Cypriot figurines saw the figurines as female, but offered a fuller range of meanings based on the theories of Ucko and Voigt.<sup>6</sup> In her analysis of early Cypriot anthropomorphic figurines, a Campo argued that "the primary meaning of plank-figures seems to be the representation of individual, human women in role as wife and mother, within their 'lineage'.<sup>7</sup>

Starting in the 1980s a new approach was taken, suggesting that not only was it methodologically unsound to identify these images as specifically female, but that, in the absence of any gender markers on approximately 2/3 of the extant examples, gender ambiguity might actually be a critical aspect of the interpretation of the plank figurines.<sup>8</sup> Notions of gender ambiguity were not merely revealed in the absence of distinct sexual traits such as breasts, genitals, or even facial hair on the majority of such figurines, but concepts of hermaphroditism seemed implied on a small number of figurines that portrayed multiple sexual characteristics, such as breasts and a penis, or possibly breasts and a beard. Thus Hamilton argued that, "if sex is not indicated on figurines, it is reasonable to suppose that it was



Fig. 1. Åström 1972, 153, fig. 16. Used with author's kind permission.



Fig. 2. Early Cypriot plank figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Cyprus Museum, Inv. 1963/IV-20/12.)

not considered relevant – perhaps because the users of the figures knew what sex was indicated, because they were meant to be sexless, or children, or because sex was not perceived to be important..."<sup>9</sup> Likewise, Cullen and Talalay concluded that "the imposition of gendered identity on Cypriot plank figures seems to us to impose a specificity of interpretation that is rarely warranted and to overlook a sexual ambiguity that may well have been intended by the artist and of complex social significance and efficacy within a ritual context".<sup>10</sup>

To categorize the plank figurines as 'female' then, was to overlook other possible identifications and to deny a concept of sexuality and gender different from that prevalent in the modern West. The intermingling of the sexes

was a long-enduring artistic motif in Cyprus dating from the Neolithic,<sup>11</sup> and thus hermaphroditism might be playing an important role here in the terracotta repertoire. Likewise, as Ribeiro has pointed out, the absence of sexual identifiers may indicate not gender, but age.<sup>12</sup> To assign a gender to these figurines would be to overlook possible age distinctions and concepts of childhood in the archaeological and artistic record.

However, there are a number of reasons why I believe the early Cypriots conceived of the plank figurines as female. To begin, while the majority of plank figurines display no clear gender, when they do, in about 1/3 of the extant examples, they are shown with breasts, which I am willing to accept indicates female sex. This is similar to the portrayal of sexual characteristics on the cruciform figurines of the Chalcolithic period (Fig. 3), where, once again, only about 1/3 of the examples are shown with breasts. However, what is consistent in all these figurines is their crouched, birthing posture, clearly indicating female sex. The breasts, then, as a Campo has argued, might be seen as redundant. That is to say, since the producers and users of the images already conceived of them as female (specifically giving birth), there is no need to indicate gender by secondary attributes such as breasts. A similar dynamic may be at work with the ECIII plank figurines – already being understood as female, secondary sexual characteristics were unnecessary. This hypothesis is intensified if we consider that in the ECIII period the most distinctive aspect of the plank figurines is their surface decoration, not the actual body. Modeled breasts

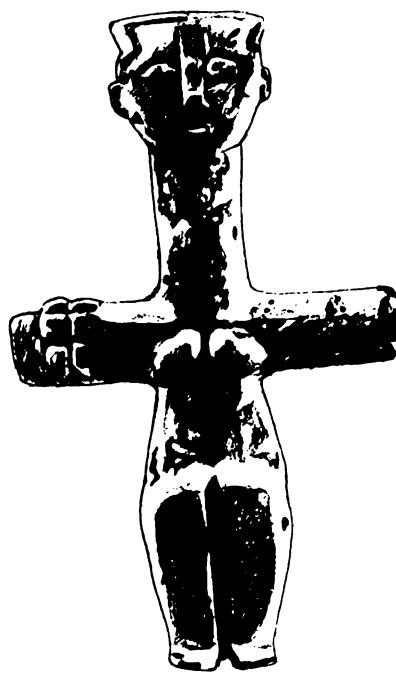


Fig. 3. Chalcolithic cruciform figurine from Souskiou. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Hajiprodromou Collection, 889.)

could be seen to detract from the surface detail, and thus are either not necessary or are downright intrusive to the meaning of the images.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to the full third of our examples, which are clearly female as per breasts (and, as I shall discuss further below, vagina), the examples that are distinctively male or hermaphroditic are extremely rare,<sup>14</sup> individually unique (and thus probably of personal manufacture rather than mass-produced), ambiguous, and exist mainly in the later Plain or White Painted Wares. Thus, what few examples do exist are in a separate category from the common, static, barely anthropomorphic, apparently mass-produced plank figurines, which typify the ECIII period; they are later (probably influenced from portrayals of males on

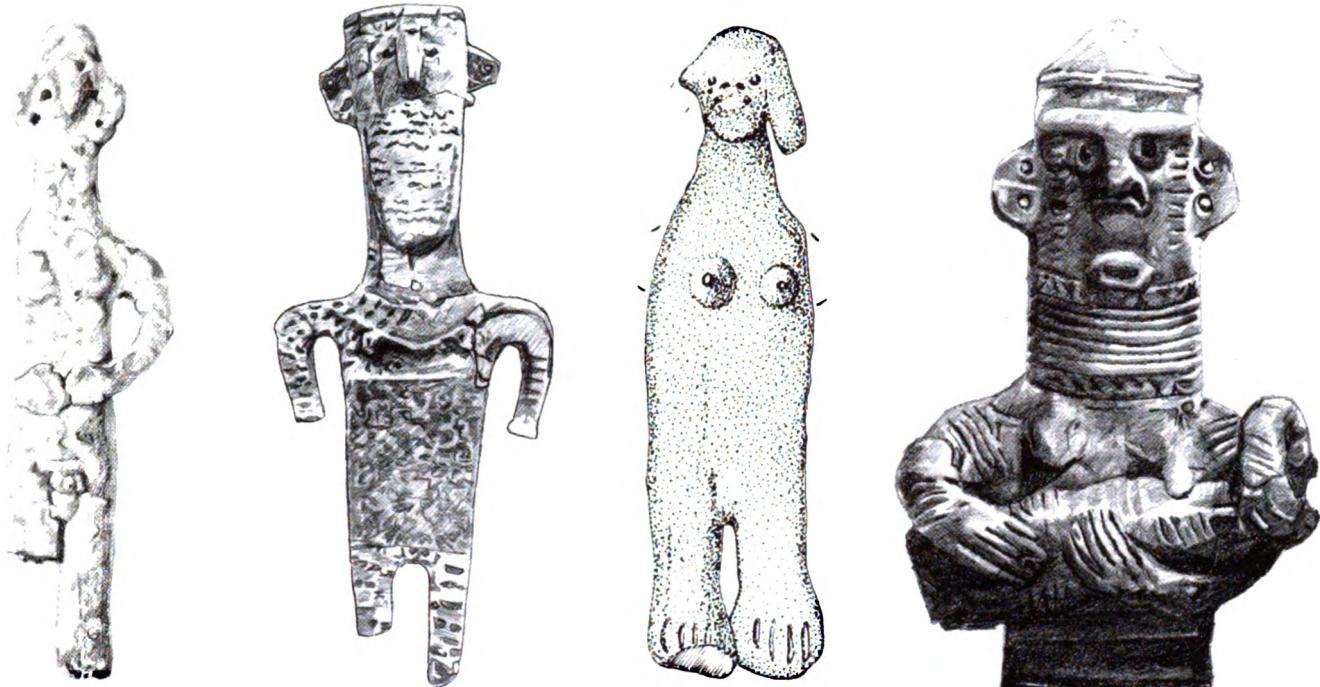


Fig. 4. Early Cypriot Plain Ware figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.)

Fig. 5. Early Cypriot White Painted figurine from Ayia Paraskevi. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Cyprus Museum, Inv. CS2028/1.)

Fig. 6. Early Cypriot Plain Ware figurine. (Berlin Museum Antiquarium, Inv. T.C. 6683, 57. From Karageorghis 1991, 178, fig. 137.)

the 'scenic compositions'); and there is even now little current consensus as to which figurines are male and which are hermaphroditic. To date I have been able to find one clearly hermaphroditic figurine (Fig. 4): an unprovenanced Plain Ware figurine which displays modeled breasts and modeled male genitals.

Other examples are far less direct concerning possible hermaphroditism. A White Painted figurine from Ayia Paraskevi (Fig. 5) shows a painted person with a very long face and what appear to be tiny, pierced breasts on the chest. Do we have here a female (breasts) with a beard (male), thus a hermaphrodite of sorts, or a male with pectorals but no

distinguishing genitalia? This example would appear to be the quintessential example of ambiguous hermaphroditism. It is also, currently, quite unique.

A particularly odd Red Polished figurine supposedly from Paphos (Fig. 6) shows a standing creature with a face resembling a sheep, sloping shoulders, modeled and incised breasts, and a phallic bulge above two well-rendered legs, including incised toes. The image is certainly hermaphroditic, but it is difficult to tell if it is even supposed to be human, and Merrillees even suggests that an effigy image is possible.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, an unprovenanced Red Polished figurine (Fig. 7) shows



Fig. 7. Early Cypriot Red Polished Ware figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Oriental Institute of Chicago, Inv. X.1161.)

a *kourotrrophic* person with clearly rendered breasts and what might be either a pierced phallic bulge (thus masculine, thus hermaphroditic), an emphasized vaginal opening (thus female), or, considering the placement on the body, a navel (an 'outie'). The fact that the person in question appears to have one breast descending into the baby basket seems to give the appearance of breast feeding, in which case either postpartum exaggerated female genitals or belly button might be indicated and reasonable. It is therefore not necessary to see this figurine as hermaphroditic, while a strong argument could be made that the image is specifically postpartum female.



Fig. 8. Early Cypriot Red Polished Ware figurine from Ayia Paraskevi. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Inv. MS 77.)

Hermaphroditic examples of free-standing terracotta figurines are extremely rare in contrast to the prevalent images with exclusively feminine sexual markers such as breasts, thus arguing for a general identification as female. Furthermore, a very few early examples display more sexual characteristics than merely breasts: There are three known plank figurines that also have vaginas (this is exclusive of the ambiguous, possibly hermaphroditic example mentioned above, which could easily belong in this category as a fourth example).

One example is a Red Polished figurine from Ayia Paraskevi (Fig. 8). Here we see a slightly three-dimensional image with a necklace,



Fig. 9. Early Cypriot Red Polished figurine. (Desmond Morris Collection, Inv. DM-IRP-86.)

rudimentary arms and hands, modeled, pierced breasts, and below what is either a navel or vagina. A second Red Polished figurine (Fig. 9), quite small and unprovenanced, shows a rudimentary face with eyes, nose and ears, a dotted necklace, and an incised dot 2/3 down the body. Once again, we may have either a navel or a vagina. The placement of the holes in both cases towards the bottom of the figurines seems to argue for a vagina. Finally, an unprovenanced Red Polished figurine in the Cyprus Museum (Fig. 10) shows a crude figurine with modeled and incised face, rudimentary arms, one breast (?), and a deep vertical groove on the front indicating either female genitalia or, possibly,



Fig. 10. Early Cypriot Red Polished figurine. (Cyprus Museum, Inv. A22.)

rudimentary legs. As the groove does not continue to the bottom of the figurines, however, genitalia seem more likely.<sup>16</sup>

Three or four examples do not a strong argument make, although I would point out that this also goes for the case regarding hermaphroditism above. A second argument that implicates, if not female sex, at least feminine gender, is the *kourotrrophic* imagery that appears with the advent of the plank figurines. While both males and females are potential caretakers of the young, there is a strong correlation between *kourotrrophic* plank figurines and those with breasts. Furthermore, in some instances, as in Fig. 7 above, the *kourotrrophic* figurines specifically seem to be breast feeding, a clear marker of female sex.<sup>17</sup> Finally, we might consider the Vounous Bowl,<sup>18</sup> where the one individual clearly marked out as female as per her breasts, and in contrast to the other characters in the scene who have phallic bulges, carries a child. At least some plank figurines then, are not only female, but maternal.

A final argument for the feminine identity of the plank figures is the continuity of these figurines with breasts and occasionally genitalia with similar figurines generally dated to the early Middle Cypriot period (MCI). The best example is a series (Fig. 11 for one example) of five figurines in the Severis Collection, one Red Slip Ware, four Plain White Ware, which show figurines with modeled breasts, minimal, incised decoration, and, in all but one example, a distinctive incision indicating either navel or, considering the placement, especially on the RSW example, a vagina.<sup>19</sup> These figurines show continuity with the earlier

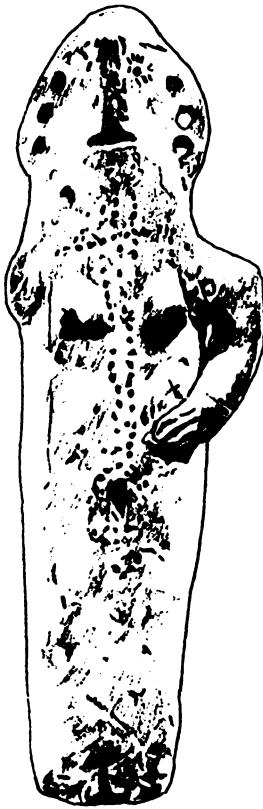


Fig. 11. Middle Cypriot Plain Ware figurine. (Severis Collection, Inv. 1539.)

ECIII plank figurines, especially in the multiply-perforated "ears" and the rudimentary (if existent at all) limbs. They show specific continuity with the Red Polished figurines portraying a navel/vagina: Not only do these MCI images show a similar hole, but, like their predecessors – and very much unlike traditional plank figurines – these images give the impression of being naked. The elaborate decorative marking which typify the usual, less engendered ECIII and MCI plank figurines are missing on the vaginal examples. This in itself may argue that the normal, decorated examples are understood to be clothed and thus do not reveal female genitalia normally. The tendency to portray

a phallic bulge on males in the scenic compositions argues against the idea that such clothing would likewise hide male genitalia, and thus male plank figurines.

### Context

The recently published excavations at Marki-*Alonia* reveal that the plank figurines first appeared when radical changes were occurring in the physical structuring of Early Cypriot society. Walls and isolated households became increasingly prominent in the ECIII period, indicating an increased emphasis on private property, security, privacy, and storage within the familial context. Plank idols emerged, then, when new concepts pertaining to the identification of the family as an economic unit first appear in the archaeological record. Just as the concomitant emergence of bovine terracotta figurines at this time may indicate a new concern with (familial) ownership of property and livestock, so too the new plank figurines might pertain to the relationship of females to the familial or household structure.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to earlier theories that the figurines were primarily mortuary in character (due to the tendency to dig mainly in cemeteries, so guess where you tend to find things...), it is now clear from more recent excavations that plank figurines were used in daily living. These images have come to light in settlements, about three dozen from Marki-*Alonia*, a handful from Alambra-*Mouties* and at least one from Ambelikou-*Alteri*.<sup>21</sup> The presence of these figurines at settlements, the evident wear on their surfaces, and mend holes on two examples (Marki AP8 and Lapithos

Tomb 21.A25) provide convincing evidence that these images were used by the living before being placed with the dead.<sup>22</sup> Placement in burials, then, appears to be no more than equipping the departed with artifacts from daily life.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Hamilton has suggested that in burials plank figurines were more commonly found with women's remains, "...material from the Early/Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Vounous suggests that most if not all figurines were found with female skeletons, while Paraskevi Baxevani's analysis of the Lapithos material also suggests that plank idols occur with females".<sup>24</sup> If accurate, then one might suggest that plank figurines played a role in women's lives in the prehistoric period.

Some suggestions have already been made to this effect, such as a Campo's theory that these images may have been used as a part of a marriage ceremony, whereby the transfer of the female image reflects the transfer of the human female.<sup>25</sup> Such a hypothesis would accommodate both the new focus on the familial unit as argued by Webb as well as the apparent ownership and use (?) by women as per the funerary records. But perhaps it would behoove us to be more subtle in our analyses, lest we begin to value the gender aspect to the detriment of other possibilities.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps we might see the figurines without breasts as girls more so than women *per se*, following to an extent the theories of Ribeiro. Or further, following Bolger, that the full range of 'unsexed', sexed, and *kourotrophic* figurines contribute to a narrative of women's life cycles, revealing different types of social identity – girl, woman, mother.<sup>27</sup>

Also of interest is the fact that these notions, whatever they were and however they evolved, remained entrenched in the Cypriot iconography, when portrayals of males virtually disappeared. This is partially due to the different media of display. Females appeared both in static images such as the plank figurines and within scenic compositions. Individual portrayals of males are quite rare, and prehistoric Cypriot males appear most commonly in the scenic compositions. These ceramic scenic compositions, often appearing on elaborate vessels, were apparently used as funerary goods, almost certainly for elite display. This contrasts with the plank figurines that, as discussed above, seem to have been used during the owner's lifetime. As Cyprus moved into the later Bronze Age, the scenic status symbols died out, no doubt replaced by the far more prestigious exotica resulting from connections with the Near East and Aegean. With the death of the compositions came the death, for several centuries, of male imagery in the Cypriot terracotta repertoire. This loss of male imagery is concomitant with developments in the Middle Bronze Age Near East generally, when portrayals of males in the terracotta corpus were quite rare.<sup>28</sup> When portrayals of males do reemerge in Cyprus, they are wholly foreign, either portraying Levantine style gods with horns, or Aegean warriors and bull fighters.

### Meaning

That we recognize a femininity in the plank figurines does not, however, mean that we must fall back on the older, supposedly feminine identifications as goddess or ushabti. Quite to

the contrary, the roles assumed by the plank figurines especially in the scenic compositions suggest that the plank figurines should, at this period, be seen as mortal females, as there is no evidence that they should be regarded as divine. This recognition should spur on new approaches to studying the figurines' relevance to women's lives in ancient Cyprus. What might these female images say about the roles and lives of Cypriot women in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages? Why do they emerge with the rise of domestic architecture? And why are women more likely to be portrayed in the iconography than males?

Might we point the finger at some early indication of the 'male gaze', whereby women were seen as inherently more objectifiable, thus artistically portrayable, than males? If we accept a Campo's theories regarding the plank figurines and marriage, might this be an early indication of specifically patrilocal marriage? Or, did the men simply leave their own self-portrayals elsewhere, somewhere not yet discovered? Could this in itself show an early gendered division of society: the females identifying themselves with the *domus*,<sup>29</sup> the males identifying themselves with non-domestic space?

This last notion is particularly interesting for what it may say about the rise of patriarchal society in ancient Cyprus. As Rosaldo has argued, it is the gendered division between the domestic and extra-domestic space of a community that has the greatest impact on the prestige and authority associated with males in that community.<sup>30</sup> The plank figurines first appear in Cypriot society at precisely that time when domestic spaces are

being most emphasized. Furthermore, as Bolger has argued, the static posture of the plank figurines along with their portrayal as *kourotrophos* places an emphasis not on their role as producer (*genetrix* of children or otherwise), but as caretaker, *mater*.<sup>31</sup> This connects well with Peltenburg's theories concerning the presence of a female, plank-like individual in a place of low status in the Vounous Bowl, suggesting that women held less authority than men in the ECIII period in which the plank figurines first appear.<sup>32</sup> A final consideration is a potentially similar development occurring earlier in the (pre-)history of Cyprus. Peltenburg has suggested that the deliberate destruction and burial of a hoard of feminine, terracotta birthing figurines at the Chalcolithic site of Kissonerga occurred during a period of intensified agricultural production and a concomitant intensification of domestic storage. Symbols of female power, then, are removed as the notion of domesticity grows and women are specifically associated with it. As Peltenburg wrote, "tools for the preparation of cultivars, especially cereals, are concentrated inside houses and, as suggested by the figurines inside the model and burial evidence [...], females are also closely connected to Kissonerga buildings".<sup>33</sup> Simultaneously, "the disappearance of pervasive symbols that explicitly conveyed the importance of birth, so emphasizing the roles of females in society, may well denote a restructuring of gender roles".<sup>34</sup>

#### Change and Continuity: Sex, Divinity, and the Levant

The intensification of feminine sexual attributes in the Middle Cypriot pe-



Fig. 12. Middle Bronze Age Terracotta figurine from Ebla. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Inv. TM.92.P.875+TM.94.P.530.)

riod marks an important aspect of the evolution of these images. Not only do the plank figurines grow more three-dimensional over time, they increasingly appear nude with greater emphasis on the sexual characteristics. The typically cited cause for this 'nudification' and eroticization of the figurines is contacts with the Levant.<sup>35</sup> Here, especially in Syria (Fig. 12), nude female figurines had been common since the third millennium, represen-

ting, I believe, some manifestation of the goddess Ishtar.<sup>36</sup> The late prehistoric phase of Cyprus is marked by an intensification of foreign contacts with the Near East, evident not only in the circulation of goods but also by references as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE to Alashiya (the ancient name for Cyprus) in the cuneiform corpus.<sup>37</sup> Thus the Cypriots were in contact with a society that made use of highly eroticized female terracotta figurines at the time when their own figurines start to show similar attributes.

However, the issue of continuity complicates this initial assessment. The MCI Cypriot female figurines, despite their conceptual similarities to the Levantine models, have much in common with their early Cypriot predecessors. Both the nudity and the presence of a vagina have precedents in the EC corpus, however minimal. Thus, rather than seeing the eroticization (or even engendering) of prehistoric Cypriot terracotta figurines exclusively as a result of Levantine influence, I think it more accurate to argue that exposure to eroticised yet familiar (multiply pierced ears, jewellery) female images from the Levant encouraged a trend that was already present in Cyprus.

#### Divine

The real Levantine influence on the Cypriot terracottas is felt starting in the MCIII period with the emergence of the spindle-shaped silhouette (Fig. 13). It is here that we begin to see strong parallels to the Levantine prototypes. The arms curve fully away from the body to curve in and support the breasts, a widening at hip level, and a rudimentary division between legs portrayed standing and together.



Fig. 13. Middle Cypriot Black Slip Ware figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 74.51.1537.)



Fig. 14. Late Cypriot bird-faced figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (British Museum Inv. A 15.)



Fig. 15. Late Cypriot bronze 'Bomford' figurine. Drawing by Paul. C. Butler. (Ashmolean Museum, Inv. 1971.888.)

And, of course, the 'Levantization' of the figurines becomes almost complete in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 14), when Cypriot anthropomorphic female terracottas (and later bronzes) display all the attributes of the Levantine models: *en face*, prominent breasts, exaggerated pubic triangles, incised and modeled jewelry, a similar repertoire of arm positions, and even the criss-cross over the chest representative of a baldric in ancient Near

Eastern art, thus indicative of the weapons carried by the erotic goddess Ishtar.

What remains distinctively Cypriot, however, is the *kourotrophic* imagery, which has little precedent in the Levant. This attribute is rather a holdover from the Cypriot iconography dating back to the ECIII period and once again emphasizes the continuity present in these images. We cannot deny that Levantine contacts

had an influence on the evolution of Cypriot female figurines, just as Aegean contacts will later regularize the proportions of the somewhat monstrous LCII bird-faced figurines. But perhaps this Levantine influence took hold so well precisely because it reflected some ideology or *weltanschauung* already present in Cyprus for centuries.

This intensified Levantine influence prompted the final transforma-

tion of the terracotta female figurines of Bronze Age Cyprus, when the nude female terracottas come to take on divine associations.<sup>38</sup> That these figurines come to be seen as deities rather than mortal women is supported by three arguments. First, the weakest, is comparison with similar developments in the Levant. When considering the endurance of the terracotta Nude Goddess image in Syria in the Late Bronze Age (1600–1200 BCE) concurrent with the dying off of male iconography, Moorey suggests that the female iconography remained prevalent because it portrayed a powerful and well-beloved goddess – Ishtar – who played a prominent role in household and private cult.<sup>39</sup> In other words, during periods when mortals cease to be portrayed in the iconography, females remain because they represent divinities particularly associated with the domestic sphere and, possibly, “female personal piety”.<sup>40</sup>

The second, perhaps stronger argument, is the full-scale importation of all aspects of Levantine religion in the Cypriot Late Bronze Age – iconography such as the bronze statues from Enkomi, the architecture as at Kition and Enkomi, references to Near Eastern divinities such as Baal and Athtar<sup>41</sup> – strongly suggests that the bird-faced figurines (and their normal-faced derivatives) also came to take on the divine associations they had in the Near East.

Finally, and in my opinion most importantly, there are the iconographic similarities between the LCII nude female terracotta figurines and Cypriot divine females in alternate media. One example are the bronze female images such as the Bomford figurine (Fig. 15), which portray a



Fig. 16. Cypriot cylinder seal impression. (British Museum seal 1900.5–21.3. From Webb 1999, 268, fig. 85.1. Used with permission of the publisher.)

nude female with special emphasis on the sexual attributes, presented *en face*, with a similar repertoire of arm positions as we see on the terracottas. That these images portray goddesses might be gleaned from their elaborate materials and manufacture, but even more so from their similarities to bronze statues of male deities discovered at Enkomi. These statues show males wearing the horned miter which identified deities in the ancient Near Eastern iconography. As this horned miter motif moved westward, it became less consistent, such that while the presence of horns can usually be used to identify a deity in the iconography, their lack does not indicate a concomitant lack of divine status.<sup>42</sup> That is to say, a lack of horns does not mean that the individual portrayed is not a deity. The similarities between the male divine statues and the female, such as material and ox-hide-ingot-shaped bases, suggest that the females, as the males, were understood to be divinities.

Likewise, there are portrayals of

nude goddesses in the Cypriot glyptic. Jennifer Webb records three such examples.<sup>43</sup> The first (Fig. 16) shows a mixed Levantine-Aegean style typical of the Cypriot style.<sup>44</sup> Here, a small, winged nude female wears the horned miter discussed above. Like the figurines, she stands mainly *en face*, although her feet point to the side. As with many of the figurines, her arms bend inwards to support the breasts. Standing next to her is a number of fantastic creatures such as a Bovine genie, a Minoan style goddess, and even rampant lions, all indicative of divine status. The second example, from Klavdhia is similar, showing a nude female with wings, a horned miter, necklace and belts, who stands *en face* holding her breasts next to a griffin and caprid. On the third example, now in the Louvre, the nude female appears without wings or miter standing by a *potnia theron* and holding a griffin by the tail.<sup>45</sup> The wings, horned miter, and especially presence among fantastic creatures and divinities argue that the nude female

herself must be understood as a divine character. Based on comparanda in multiple media, then, it appears that the Cypriot female terracotta figurine, now consistently nude, makes a final transformation into divinity.

### Cyprus as Core

The changes and continuity present in the Cypriot female terracotta figurines reveal much about Cyprus and its relationship to its neighbors. All too often, Cyprus, as Sicily, Nubia, and Lydia, is relegated to the position of periphery, and its culture is studied with an eye towards which 'core' it came from (Anatolia, the Levant, Greece; certainly not indigenous), and how continued foreign contacts caused changes in culture. As a centrally placed island, Cyprus also has been

accorded the distinction of a place where culture stops to rest while traveling between east and west.

The above study shows that, while certainly influenced by neighbors, Cyprus shows a cultural creativity and evolution in its own right. The tendency to recognize Levantine aspects of the terracotta figurines should not blind one to the long-standing continuity present in the iconography, most noticeable in the representations of gender, jewellery, and especially the *kourotriphism*. Perhaps rather than notions of adoption or adaptation, we should think in terms of convergence, that Levantine and Aegean influences had an impact on the Cypriot iconography because they reflected an ideology already present in Cyprus.

Even more so, we must recog-

nize the important contributions that Cyprus made to her neighbors, other than just being an intermediary between the ancient Near East and the Aegean. The *kourotriphism* prevalent in Cypriot iconography from the Early Bronze Age had a powerful impact on both east and west: Aegean female figurines only show *kourotriphism* after contacts with Cyprus (Minoan figurines show no *kourotriphism*, and Mycenaean *phi* and *psi* figurines do not emerge until the LHII period.<sup>46</sup>) Cyprus, then, was an important contributor to the artistic and iconographic developments of the eastern Mediterranean, as one of her oldest and most enduring images spread out from its Cypriot core to the surrounding periphery.

### Acknowledgments

I offer my thanks to the Medelhavsmuseet for organizing such a wonderful conference on gender in ancient Cyprus, to Paul Åström for photograph permissions, and to my husband Paul C. Butler for drawing the images for this paper.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Frankel & Tamvaki 1973, 41; Karageorghis (1991, 52), toning down his earlier theories, nevertheless insists that the plank figurines "all have basic connections with fertility". On ushabti notions, see Åström 1972, 254. Merrillees (1980, 184) is more circumspect, seeing the figurines as symbols of

"the continuity of human existence through procreation and life after death".

- <sup>2</sup> Karageorghis 1977, 58-60.
- <sup>3</sup> Karageorghis 1975, 62.
- <sup>4</sup> Orphanides 1983, 46.
- <sup>5</sup> Morris 1985, 162.
- <sup>6</sup> Mogelonsky 1988, 236ff.
- <sup>7</sup> a Campo 1994, 169.
- <sup>8</sup> Merrillees 1980, 173-174. Knapp & Meskell 1997, 197-198.
- <sup>9</sup> Hamilton 2000, 23.
- <sup>10</sup> Cullen & Talalay 2002, 190.
- <sup>11</sup> See Knapp & Meskell 1997, figs. 2-3.
- <sup>12</sup> Ribeiro 2002.
- <sup>13</sup> a Campo 1994, 147-148.
- <sup>14</sup> Merrillees 1980, 174.
- <sup>15</sup> Merrillees 1980, 176.
- <sup>16</sup> I recognize the precariousness of basing any analysis on unprovenanced

examples, although, unfortunately, this is often all we have to work with. Concerning the present study, if one were to reckon only the examples with clear provenance, one would be left with the two examples from Ayia Paraskevi: one with both breasts and vagina, one with 'breasts' and 'beard'.

- <sup>17</sup> See also Morris (1985, 148) for other illustrated examples.
- <sup>18</sup> See Belgiorno (this volume), Fig. 1.
- <sup>19</sup> Karageorghis 1975.
- <sup>20</sup> Webb (this volume).
- <sup>21</sup> Frankel & Webb 1996, 188; see also Talalay & Cullen 2002, 184-185. I thank Jenny Webb for updated information about the finds at Marki!
- <sup>22</sup> Frankel & Webb 1996, 188.
- <sup>23</sup> Webb 1992, 90.
- <sup>24</sup> Hamilton 2000, 18.

25 a Campo 1994, 168.  
 26 Bolger 2003, 102-122; Meskell 1998.  
 27 Bolger 2003, 113-115.  
 28 Moorey 2001, 153.  
 29 Preziosi & Hitchcock 1999, 42-44.  
 30 Rosaldo 1974.  
 31 Bolger 1996, 369, 371-372.  
 32 Peltensburg 1994.  
 33 Peltensburg 2002, 59.  
 34 Peltensburg 2002, 59.  
 35 Karageorghis 1975, 61.  
 36 Two of the earliest and most consistent characteristics of the Nude Female images are their nudity, especially with an emphasis on the breasts, and the presence of a baldric - a criss-cross over the chest - which indicates an association with things military. As the goddess who combines warfare and eroticism in her persona, Ishtar is the most likely deity intended for these images.  
 37 Steel 2004, 143; Knapp 1996.  
 38 Budin 2003, Ch. 6; Bolger 1996, 371; Knapp 1986.  
 39 Moorey 2001, 154-155. Moorey (2003, 38) makes a similar argument for the role of the Nude Female in Bronze Age Canaan.  
 40 Moorey 2003, 15.  
 41 Walls 1996, 36.  
 42 Negbi 1976.  
 43 Webb 1999, 267-268.  
 44 Webb 1999, 85.1 (British Museum seal 1900.5-21.3); see also Porada 1948, no. 11.  
 45 Webb 1999, 267.  
 46 French 1971, 104.

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# CYPRIOT BUILT CHAMBER TOMBS – EVIDENCE OF MULTICULTURALISM?

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## The built tombs

It is often the outstanding monuments – the great engineering achievements or the daring architectural solutions – that attract our attention. This is no less the case here: sparkling on the background of thousands of rock-cut tombs, a group of exquisite built chamber tombs appear and blossom in the Cypriot funerary architecture during the Archaic period.<sup>1</sup>

It is the intention of this article to explore this class of tombs, often labelled “princely”, how and why they occur and what they may reveal of the ethnic and/or cultural contexts of the tomb-building Cypriots and their relations to the surrounding world. Rather than sweeping across a large body of material I have chosen to concentrate on one such built tomb; with a single monument as point of departure, we will explore the whole category of Archaic built tombs.

## The built tomb at Trachonas

In 1928 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition investigated a built tomb at Trachonas in the eastern Karpasia:

After some three miles' walk along the shore eastwards from Kountoura Trachonia, one comes upon

a locality called Trachonas. It is situated some two miles S.E. of Gallinoporni, and the fields of the village with plantations of carob-trees extend right down to the sea. The site is an ancient burial ground containing tombs from the Cypro-Geometric II period down to the Hellenistic times. Most of them are rifled. One tomb was said to have been enormously rich. It was a vaulted structure, built of huge slabs which had to be broken in forcing the entrance. The monument was still to be seen, as the blocks were too large to be removed and used for modern building purpose. The Expedition decided to inspect the place, and ten days were spent at the end of April, 1928, in clearing the tomb and its vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

The tomb at Trachonas is well built in large sandstone ashlars (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> As all other Cypriot tombs it is subterranean, sited in a slope, where a large rectangular pit had first been cut in the bedrock (Fig. 2). Inside this pit the tomb was constructed, most likely built of blocks hewn from site. In that way, the pit of the tomb formed the stone quarry. The floor of the tomb



Fig. 1. The stepped dromos of the Trachonas tomb (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 183).

chamber and the area in front of the *stomion*, the *prodomos* of the tomb, was paved with large well-fitted slabs, forming a perfectly horizontal floor. The entire floor area of the tomb was on the same level, and it was paved as the first step of the construction. The *prodomos* floor slopes slightly towards the steps in order to drain water from the chamber.

The tomb consists of a slightly widening stepped *dromos*, with in all 14 quite uniform steps, again well-

Fig. 2. Section of the built tomb at Trachonas (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 182:7).

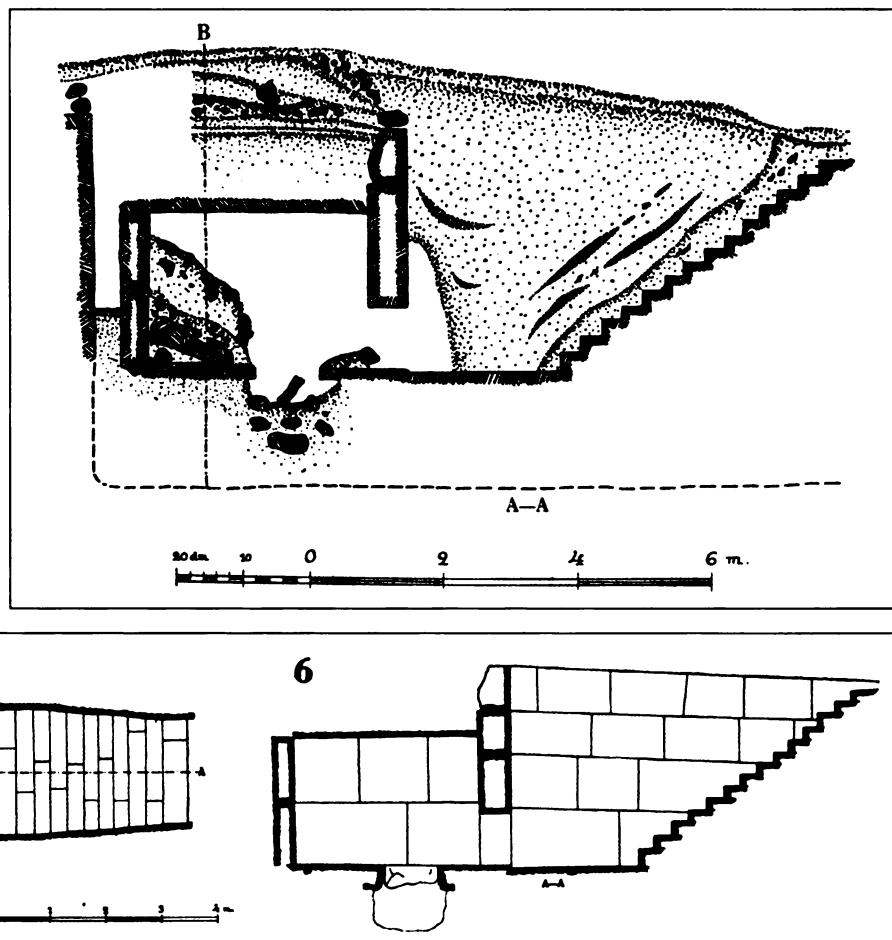


Fig. 3. Section of the built tomb at Trachonas (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 182:5 & fig. 182:6).

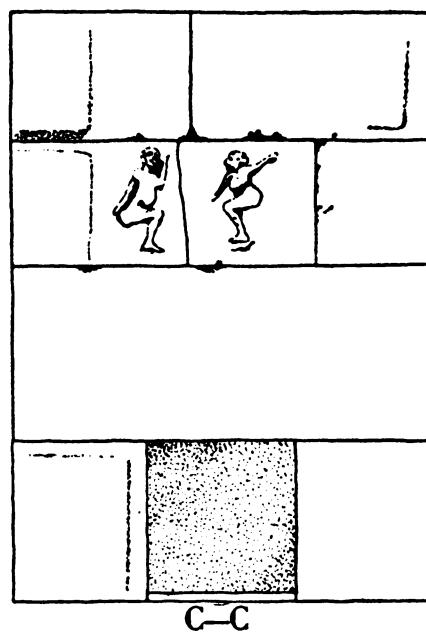


Fig. 4. The back wall of the stomion (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 182:8).

fitted, perfectly horizontal, c. 25 cm high and 30 cm deep (Fig. 3). The sidewalls of the dromos are built in large ashlars in four large courses, the lowest one slightly taller, perhaps intended to form an orthostate course, perhaps unintended.

The back wall of the *prodomos*/entrance to the tomb is majestic (Fig. 4). Also this wall is in four courses, corresponding with the dromos walls. A shallow, low entrance is placed in the centre of the lowest course. This was originally closed by a stone slab, a closing block. The second course, which is also the lintel of the *stomion*, is constructed of a single huge block, more than 3.5 m wide and 1.1 m high.



Fig. 5. The padded dancers of the Trachonas tomb (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 186).

Above the entrance hole in the next course is a relief decoration of what seems to be two padded dancers (Fig. 5). We shall return to this relief below.

The tomb chamber is slightly trapezoid, widening towards the *stomion*. It is built in one course of large ashlars, where after the roof sets off. The roof forms a barrel vault, which is constructed by large slabs: in all six huge slabs are placed on edge on the sidewalls, and they meet at the centre of the roof, which is also the apex of the vault (Fig. 6). The slabs are cut as to imitate the rounding of the barrel vault. Traces of red colour on the walls of the tomb chamber indicate that it was once decorated 'in linear design'.

The tomb was covered below a tumulus constructed by "layers" of clayey earth, stones, and rock debris "alternating more or less regularly with each other".<sup>4</sup> It is clear that indeed the roof construction was given



Fig. 6. The roof construction (Gjerstad et al. 1934, fig. 185).

extra stability by the weight and structure of the tumulus above. It was not only a lavish tomb marker, the tumulus was – as they always are in connection with built tombs – a vital part of the construction, stabilizing the building.

By analogy with the royal tombs at Tamassos and the scattered finds in the remains of the fill in the dromos and *prodomos*, Sjöqvist suggested that

the tomb was constructed in the Cypro-Archaic I period. It still seems a fair date.

### Princely tombs

The aim of this little investigation is to present some possible answers to the questions of how and why such a built tomb occur here, what it may reveal of the ethnic and/or cultural contexts of the people who built it, and not least their relations to the surrounding world.

First, it is a built tomb. It was built in a burial ground – which, as far as I am able to tell, otherwise consisted of rock-cut tombs, perhaps of a type similar to the tombs of the nearby necropolis at Kountoura Trachonia.<sup>5</sup> It was outstanding in the local context, and the villagers knew that it had been a wealthy tomb. We are in no position to doubt them. Building a tomb in an area otherwise suitable for rock-cut tombs is much, much more than double work. Building a tomb in large ashlars, or even megaliths is more than building a tomb; it is building a tale of the potency of the builder. It becomes a political monument, an expression of power and economic surplus – an expression of capacity.

Therefore, we labelled tombs like this princely and we believe that it was intended for the local chieftain, the king, or the high priest. So, for a start, it reveals by its shear presence something on the organisation of the local community at Trachonas in the Archaic period. It was a hierarchical society where someone was buried in such a tomb, while others were not. And it was a rich society. If we widen our context, it becomes evident that the peer at Trachonas was part of a certain

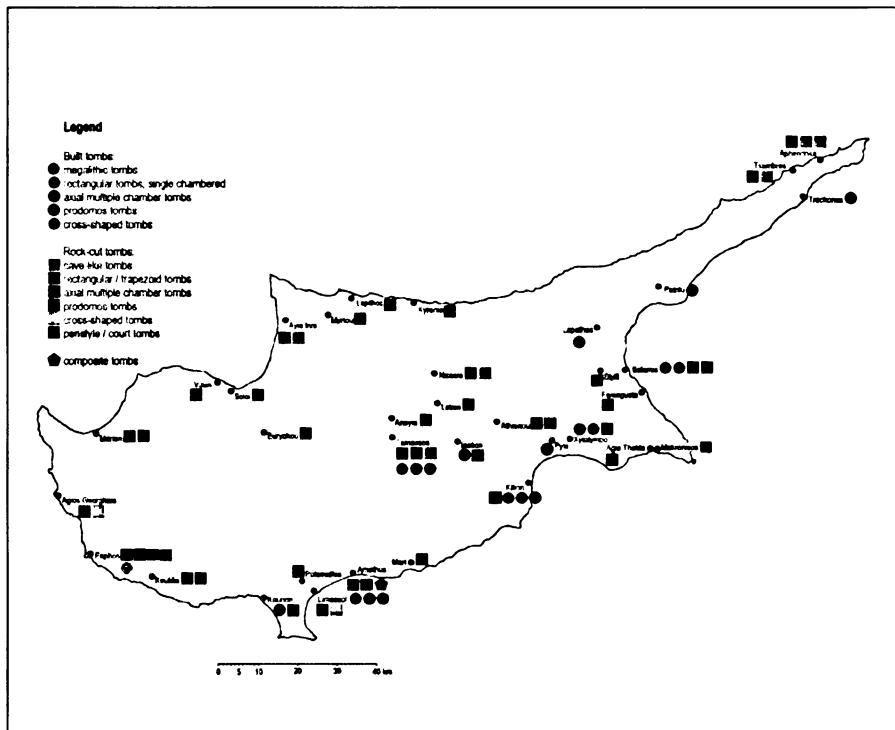


Fig. 7. Distribution map, built tombs in Cyprus (A.M. Carstens).

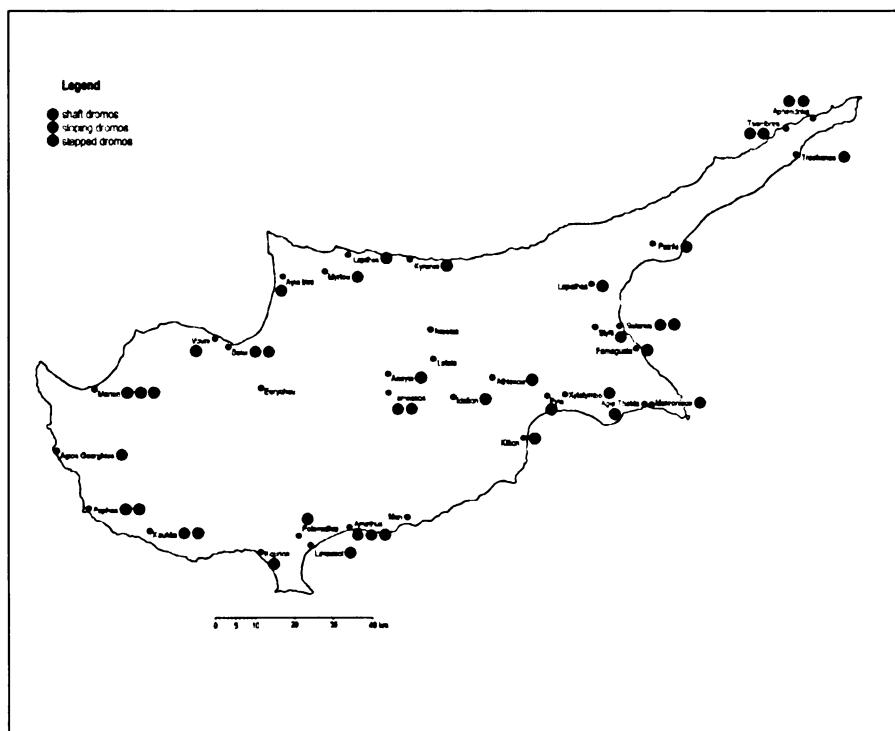


Fig. 8. Distribution map, dromos types (A.M. Carstens).

aristocratic tendency that swept over the island during the Archaic period: the peers or aristocrats were buried in well-built chamber tombs, probably below tumuli. The aristocratic funeral and the preparations for these celebrations of the aristocracies were of overwhelming importance in the political power show-off.<sup>6</sup>

**Archaic Cypriot chamber tombs**  
The built tombs are known only from the eastern and southern part of the island, from Karpasia in the northeast to Kourion in the south (Fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> The built tombs first appear in Salamis and Amathus in the Cypro-Geometric III period, and during the succeeding Cypro-Archaic I and II periods built tombs are also found at Trachonas, Patriki, Tamassos, Kition and Kourion.

There are four types of built tombs in play in Cyprus during the Archaic period: the megalithic tombs of the royal necropolis at Salamis, and the Phaneromeni in Kition; the single chambered rectangular tombs such as the one from Trachonas; the axial multiple chamber tomb, which is particularly favoured in central part of tomb building Cyprus, in particular Kition, Tamassos, and also Amathus and Limassol; the *prodomos* tombs, with a specific architectonic emphasis on the inner part of the dromos, are of course the Salamis tombs, the two tombs at Patriki, but also the famous tombs at Tamassos with their lavish decorated *prodomos* "spaces".

A prominent feature of the tomb at Trachonas is the elegantly stepped dromos. Stepped dromoi is a feature quite beloved in the Cypriot tombs, not only in the built tombs, but also widely used in the rock-cut tombs (Fig. 8).

The peculiar roof is a variant of the slab-gabled roof type, here cut in the shape of a barrel vault (Fig. 9). Such slab-gabled roofs are the most frequent type of roofing of the Cypriot built tombs. The gabled and vaulted roof is also quite well known in the rock-cut architecture of the island.

The Trachonas tomb was covered with a tumulus. Tumuli are rarely found in Cyprus – or so it seems. Apart from the two prominent tumuli at Salamis, that of Tomb 3 and of the cenotaph Tomb 77, only a few others are known.<sup>8</sup> Yet, some of these are quite modest, they have been recognized in the archaeological record as smaller mounds, and their construction seems to have been quite careless. Such mounds are seen at Lapithos above the Cypro-Geometric I-II tombs at Palates and above the Cypro-Classical II tombs at Kountoura Trachonia.<sup>9</sup> I suggest that they were many more such mounds, raised above both built and rock-cut tombs.<sup>10</sup>

### Padded dancers

In all these respects the built tomb at Trachonas correspond nicely to the other tombs of its class, that of the built tombs of Archaic Cyprus. But we have forgotten the padded dancers (Fig. 5).

Sjöqvist suggested that they should be interpreted as death demons performing a ritual dance rather than human beings:

The wall above the door is decorated with two rather weathered sculptures in relief. The left one is a steatopygous male figure in right profile. Its total height is 0.58 m. The head is long and narrow with projecting nose and chin, short

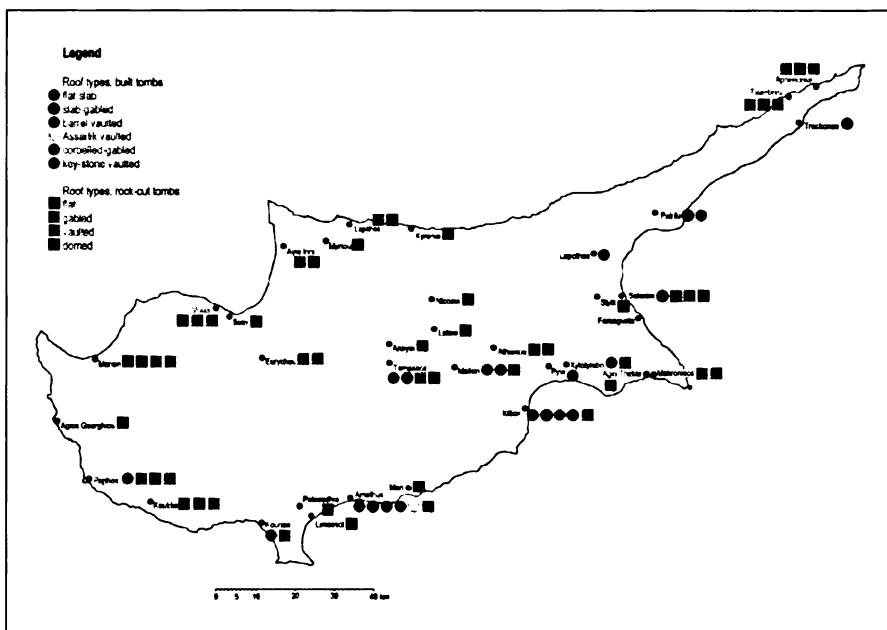


Fig. 9. Distribution map, roof types (A.M. Carstens).

hair, and is probably close-shaved. The left arm is bent at the elbow and lifted in a gesture of adoration, the right one hangs straight behind the back, with the hand resting on the enormous hinder parts. The legs, only one of which is seen in the relief, are bent at the knees; the feet are large and the heels slightly lifted.

The right figure is of a similar type but somewhat smaller (total height 0.53 m). It faces the left one and is in left profile. The head is more depressed; the hair short and flying backwards, and the nose very projecting, almost beak-shaped. The right arm is directed forwards, the left one backwards, indicating a vivid movement. The legs and posteriors are of the same type as those of the left figure, but the foot is lifted, so that the right one can be seen only indistinctly behind it.<sup>11</sup>

Later, in volume IV of the SCE, the dancers are described merely as grotesque male figures.<sup>12</sup> I find the right figure more female than male, yet, still grotesquely padded, and she seem to me to be depicted in the middle of a jump, truly in the middle of a "vivid movement", perhaps performing an acrobatic dance.

I know of no parallels to these dancers in a Cypriot chamber tomb context. Figural decorations are extremely rare in the tombs, only a chamber tomb at Pyla has relief decorations of a Gorgon flanked by sphinxes on the façade, and in the chamber of the composite Cellarka tomb 105 a boat was found, most of all suggestive of Scandinavian rock carvings.<sup>13</sup>

This is in contrast to the dynastic or princely chamber tombs of for instance Lykia and Lydia, where figural decorations occur now and then, often as tomb paintings.<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 10. Departure scene from the Kızılbel tomb (Mellink 1998, Pl. VI:b)



Fig. 11. Terracotta warrior and musician. Both figurines have two opposed perforations near the base, possibly for the application of moveable legs (Karageorghis et al. 2001, cat. no. 101 and 102).

However, these motifs belong to a circle of standard subjects, such as departures, processions and banquets, which we find amongst a Persianized Anatolian aristocracy (Fig. 10).<sup>15</sup> But there are other similarities between these Lykian and Lydian chamber tombs and many of the built tombs of Cyprus, such as: the plan of the tomb, the ashlar masonry, the employment of a closing block and the tumulus.<sup>16</sup>

In Cyprus ritual dancers are found for instance on the Hubbard amphora in Nicosia. Terracotta musicians may depict musicians that accompanied the dancers (Fig. 11). Such figurines are often found in tombs, perhaps included in the funerary equipment as a reference to a ritual dance at the funeral, and as a token of a promise to keep celebrating a 'cult of the dead' at the tomb? They may be both male and female and some seem to have had separate legs applied to little holes in the lower part of the conical body. Often they have been interpreted as children's toys, but perhaps they formed part of a common funerary ritual?

Another group of terracotta figurines, the warriors with moveable legs may depict war-dancers, 'Homeric' pyrrhic dancers (Fig. 11).<sup>17</sup> This group of figurines is only found in tombs and may indeed refer to the funerary rituals.<sup>18</sup> They are, however, never of a 'padded' appearance. But perhaps this is the right context of the padded dancers from Trachonas? They may depict part of a ritual dance that took place during the funeral.

Ritual dance we know from pictorial decorations in tombs, for instance quite frequently in the painted tombs of Tarquinia.<sup>19</sup> And a newly discovered relief decorated sarcophagus

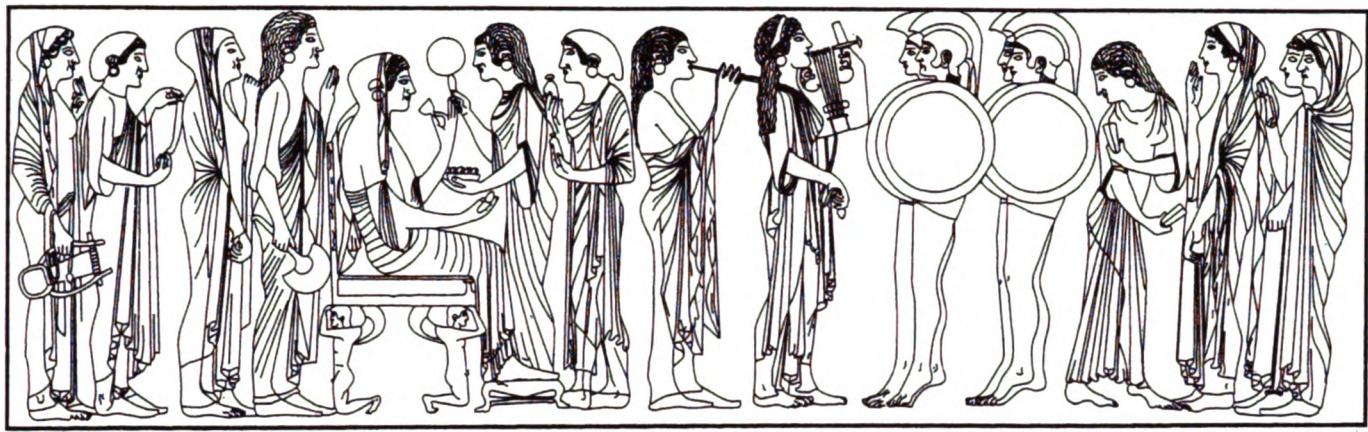


Fig. 12. Dancers from the Polyxena sarcophagus found at Gümüşçay near Granikos (Sevinç 1998, fig. 15).

0 5 20 cm

from Gümüşçay near Granikos in northwestern Anatolia, also carries depictions of what seems to be four hoplites in all, dancing or jumping (Fig. 12).<sup>20</sup> A wooden chamber tomb from the late Archaic period at Tatarlı in Phrygia has painted decoration of weapons dancers.<sup>21</sup> Padded dancers are to my knowledge rare if not unknown in funerary contexts.

#### Why do they dance?

The *heroon* at Trysa in Lykia is a ruler's tomb built in the 4th century BC. It consists of a walled precinct

with a Lykian sarcophagus. The dynastic tomb was placed just outside the city of Trysa, at the end of a long ridge commanding a perfect view. The *temenos* wall of the heroon carried relief decoration of battle scenes, mythological narratives, and standard aristocratic representation like hunting and banqueting. Above the gate in the wall the lintel was decorated on the interior with a relief depicting eight figures in all, each one playing an instrument, some kneeling, some seated on stools, and some dancing as well (Fig. 13).<sup>22</sup> They

are all fleshy and although the relief is extremely weathered they seem to carry grotesque masks, all of them rendered in frontal view, also when the figures are otherwise in profile. These eight figures are frequently interpreted as the originally Egyptian deity Bes, who encapsulated a strong apotropaic strength. He was a god of both fertility and death, and therefore a good protector at doorways and gates. This is also the aspect of the little chubby deity when he appears in the Hathor head capitals, which are found in abundance in Cyprus, often



Fig. 13. Musicians and dancers decorating the inside lintel of the gate in the *temenos* wall of the heroon at Trysa in Lykia (Oberleitner 1994, fig. 30).

in a sepulchral context.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps they dance in order to keep evil away from the survivors; perhaps they dance in order to secure the reoccurrence of life, in a reference to a cyclic perception of death and life?

And when the little chubby fellow is able to secure some sort of order in a world of disorder – provoked by the death of the leader of the small society at Trachonas (or the king at Trysa for that matter) – then it may be because of his funny and grotesque features. Features that provoked laughter, laughter which in itself is apotropaic!<sup>24</sup>

### Multiculturalism?

What then may the built tomb at Trachonas reveal of the ethnic or cultural contexts of its builders and their relations to the surrounding world? It is both a straightforwardly easy and quite impossible question to answer.

It is not an unusual chamber tomb; it suits the general picture of the Archaic Cypriot built tombs. It follows trends in the Lydian/Anatolian sepulchral architecture. It is at home in its Cypriote as well as in its broader regional context. However, whether this reflects a close relation with neighbouring Anatolian traditions fed by personal contacts – a multicultural Cypriote society with various wefts

from migrant groups – is one of the many almost unanswerable questions that archaeology rightly asks.

But it seems that both the form, the architecture and layout, as well as the content, not least the common reflection of cult and ongoing religious activities at the tombs, were shared within a broad cultural zone or a religious *koiné* including both the eastern Mediterranean, Anatolia and Etruria. Within this zone there existed numerous variations, but there was also a sort of uniformity, which I suspect was made possible because of an elitist 'network' of interacting aristocrats.<sup>25</sup>

#### Acknowledgements

I owe Katja Walcher and Lone Wriedt Sørensen my sincere thanks for their valuable suggestions concerning parallels to the padded dancers of Trachonas. Likewise I thank Christopher Roosevelt for pointing in an Etruscan direction, a path that might be highly interesting and fruitful to explore in much more detail than what has been possible here.

#### NOTES

- 1 Carstens 2006.
- 2 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 461.
- 3 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 461-466.
- 4 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 463.
- 5 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 439-460.

- 6 Carstens 2005.
- 7 Carstens 2006.
- 8 Tumuli in Cyprus: Salamis Tomb 3 and 77, Tomb 26 at Amathus, at Lapithos, at Plakes and at Kountoura Trachonia. Carstens 2006.
- 9 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 265-276, 459.
- 10 Carstens 2006, 159-160.
- 11 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 464.
- 12 Gjerstad 1948, 42.
- 13 Karageorghis 1970, 150.
- 14 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 36-46.
- 15 Mellink 1998; Özgen & Öztürk 1998.
- 16 While many Lydian tombs have flat roofs, both corbelled barrel vaults and slab-gablings occur. On the architectural development and characteristics of the Lydian chamber tombs, see Roosevelt 2003.

- 17 Braun 2003; Karageorghis 1995, 25-27, cat. no. 11.
- 18 Braun 2003, 90, 99.
- 19 E.g. Tomba del Colle Casuccini (Steingräber 1985, nr. 15), Tomba di Montollo (Steingräber 1985, nr. 17), Tomba delle Bighe (Steingräber 1985, nr. 47), Tomba della Caccia e Pesca (Steingräber 1985, nr. 50).
- 20 Sevinç 1996; Sevinç 1998.
- 21 Summerer 2007.
- 22 Oberleitner 1994, 22; LIMC 3:1, 'Bes' no. 7.
- 23 LIMC 4:1, 'Hathor', 451-458.
- 24 See e.g. Glenn 2003, 7-34; Bakhtin 1984; Alkjær 1982.
- 25 Carstens 2005.

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## THE DUAL-SEXED IMAGES AT AYIA IRINI AND THEIR CYPRIOT ANCESTORS

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Fig. 1. Andesite anthropomorphic figurine, Neolithic, Khirokitia, Cyprus Museum. Inv. No. 967. (Flourentzos & Stylianou 1996, 15)

Sexually ambiguous imagery was a feature of Cypriot culture and (or) religion, at least from the Neolithic to the sixth century BCE. The style of the imagery changed and evolved over the millennia as a result of the various societal and cultural influences, and the dual-sexed figures from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Ayia Irini are part of this evolution. This paper is a brief survey from the seventh millennium to the seventh century BCE.<sup>1</sup>

Androgynous representations were a feature of many pre-historic societies dating back to at least the late Palaeolithic, but as the Neolithic societies progressed into settled agricultural societies dependent upon fertility of cultivated crops, domesticated animals and population for survival,<sup>2</sup> assurance of fertility came to be of utmost importance. Therefore, it may be considered that during the late pre-historic period in particular, representations comprising both male and female sexual attributes were perceived as supremely potent fertility symbols; this can be compared with images of male or female genitalia depicted singly, or the more commonly depicted female fertility figures of the late Palaeolithic and early Neolithic,

with their exaggerated buttocks and pubic triangles.<sup>3</sup>

### Neolithic I: Khirokitia, c. 7000–5500 BCE

The earliest known sexually ambivalent depictions from Cyprus come from the Neolithic site of Khirokitia, which is situated in southeast Cyprus, near the coast. It was a developed, well organised society, primarily focussed on farming, hunting and probably herding for its survival.<sup>4</sup> Fertility would thus have been of prime concern to this community; androgynous depictions from the site are considered to be of local production. Although a number of Khirokitian representations have a distinct phallic appearance,<sup>5</sup> which is suggestive of male supremacy,<sup>6</sup> interpretation of some of these phallic images indicates a feminine aspect. At least two of the images from Khirokitia are considered to be sexually ambiguous, if not dual-sexed, exhibiting the feminine characteristics of fertility as well as the masculine. One image is anthropomorphised and the other is in the shape of a phallus.

Identified as an idol,<sup>7</sup> the anthropomorphised figurine is made of andesite, a volcanic rock which is readily

available in the area, and comprises the reproductive aspects of both male and female (Fig. 1). Male sexuality is indicated by the head, which closely resembles the glans penis, and whilst the image has no female sexual characteristics, femininity is indicated by the swollen, apparently pregnant body.<sup>8</sup> The pregnancy interpretation is based on a comparison of the image with small, usually rounded figurines from Khirokitia and Erimi, which are seen to depict pregnant abdomens.<sup>9</sup>

The second figure is of limestone, and is divided into two almost equal portions by an incision that encircles the shape. The upper section is slightly larger and rounded on top, depicting a phallus, and the lower, which is incised vertically, is considered to depict the female pudenda (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 2. Limestone phallus and vulva, Neolithic, Khirokitia, height 8.5 cm, width 5.2 cm, Larnaca Museum. Inv. No. 94/68.

Continuing into the Sotira and the following Erimi cultures, which are dated to the fifth millennium, this phallic style of sexually ambiguous figurine appears to be a precursor of the similarly styled shapes from Sotira (below).<sup>11</sup> While the evidence is limited for human presence on Cyprus between the Khirokitia and Sotira periods, and there are considerable differences between the two cultures,<sup>12</sup> architectural evidence based on models of sacred buildings links Khirokitia to the latter part of the Erimi culture at the sites of Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* in western Cyprus, and the Early Bronze Age site of Vounos near the northern coast.<sup>13</sup>

#### Neolithic II: Sotira, c. 4500–3900 BCE

Despite the long gap in the evidence and the cultural differences<sup>14</sup> between Khirokitia and Sotira,<sup>15</sup> the similarities of representations from the later period indicate a continuity and development of this earliest androgynous image in Cyprus, as well as the ongoing propensity of the early Cypriots to depict some of their images as sexually ambiguous – an apparent indication of similar societal and cultural values as those of Khirokitia. The two androgynous depictions from Sotira, which date to the middle and end of the fifth millennium, are considered to be an earlier form of the sexually ambiguous cruciform representations of the fourth and third millennia.<sup>16</sup> The craftsmanship of the Sotira images is of very high quality, indicating this culture was progressive and highly skilled. These images also suggest that, like the Khirokitians, the people of Sotira acknowledged and valued both male and female aspects of fertility.



Fig. 3. White limestone multi-representational figure, 4500–3750 BCE, Sotira-Arkolies, height 16.1 cm, Cyprus Museum. Inv. No. 1981/VIII-19/1. (Photograph courtesy of Cyprus Museum).

Dated to the fifth millennium BCE, the limestone representation from Sotira-*Arkolies* is considered to be of indigenous workmanship (Fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> It has a “multi-representational” shape and its function is obscure. Its exact provenance is unknown, as it was found in a ploughed field at Arkolies, not far from Sotira.<sup>18</sup> The image is believed to have come from Sotira owing to stylistic similarities and proximity to a later phallic image from Sotira-*Teppes*. This earlier multi-representational figure from Sotira-



Fig. 4. Picrolite cruciform, Chalcolithic, Yialia, height 15.6 cm, Cyprus Museum. Inv. No. 1934/III-2/2. (Photograph courtesy of Cyprus Museum).

*Arkolies* may be interpreted in a variety of ways, depending upon which view identification is based: it seems to be a combination of male and female genitalia.<sup>19</sup> However, it has also been described as a seated female.<sup>20</sup> The front view appears to represent a seated phallic necked image, with well-rounded “feminine” buttocks. The image’s bent knees and drawn up toes strongly resemble the third millennium cruciform depiction from Yialia (Fig. 4),<sup>21</sup> which is of similar pose and size, but with outstretched arms.<sup>22</sup> The Sotira-*Arkolies* figure is without arms. Its side view seems to be of a seated steatopygous female with an elongated phallic neck, whilst the back view has multiple interpretations; a phallus and scrotum, a seated

phallic figure with female buttocks,<sup>23</sup> a phallus and female genitalia combined.

Rather than being merely a “seated” figurine, it may be that the image is in fact sitting as if on a birthing chair, or squatting, ready to give birth, the ultimate act of fertility. As stated previously, figurines denoting pregnancy were a feature of the earliest imagery from Khirokitia, and those of pregnant females squatting or seated on birthing stools, either ready to give birth or in the act of birthing, were a feature of the ensuing Erimi culture.<sup>24</sup>

The Sotira-*Teppes* image referred to above dates to the end of the fifth millennium.<sup>25</sup> It also is of limestone and resembles the back view of the Sotira-*Arkolies* figure, but rather than three-dimensional like the *Arkolies* image, it is two-dimensional and fiddle shaped.<sup>26</sup> It has been interpreted in various ways; a fiddle shaped figurine with legs defined by a vertical incision dividing the legs on both the front and the back of the figurine,<sup>27</sup> an erect phallus and scrotum,<sup>28</sup> a female image, whose body is comprised of female genitalia, or a combination of a phallus and female genitalia incised on the bottom rounded section of the figurine.<sup>29</sup> Like the *Arkolies* representation, its posture resembles a cruciform. These figurines from Sotira are overtly phallic, but again feminine aspects of fertility are also readily apparent, including the steatopygous shape and birthing position.

#### Chalcolithic: Erimi, c. 3900–c. 2500 BCE

During the Erimi culture, the androgynous depictions from Khirokitia and Sotira continued and evolved into the cruciform figures that are discussed

below.<sup>30</sup> Numerous Erimi culture sites are spread throughout northern and southern Cyprus dating from c. 3900 BCE to c. 2400 BCE.<sup>31</sup> In this culture, sexual emphasis (when made) was usually on the feminine aspect of fertility.<sup>32</sup> The site of Erimi was founded in the middle of the fourth millennium, some 500 years after the demise of the Sotira culture,<sup>33</sup> and is in close proximity to Sotira, approximately seven kilometres to the southeast. Although Erimi was not founded upon a prior Sotira-culture settlement, there seems to have been a continuation of the androgynous styles from Khirokitia and Sotira, despite the lacuna in excavated evidence.

A later version of the multi-representational image from Sotira-*Arkolies* is the steatopygous seated figurine from Erimi.<sup>34</sup> It has a phallic neck, as well as protruding, rounded feminine buttocks, which are designated by



Fig. 5. Picrolite phallus, vulva, arms, late fourth millennium, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, height approx. 4.5 cm, width 2.2 cm across arms, Paphos District Museum. Inv. No. KM 939.

a T-shaped incision on the back of the shape. A vertical incision on the front divides the legs, and continues under the image. As in the case of the *Sotira-Arkolies* figure, the protruding fleshy buttocks may well represent the squatting birthing posture. Its worn appearance suggests that it may have been rubbed or held quite consistently, perhaps during childbirth in the hope of ensuring a safe delivery, or during a fertility cult ritual.<sup>35</sup>

Also from Erimi is a phallic representation, which is similar to, but an advance on, its apparent predecessor from Khirokitia (Fig. 2). It is made of picrolite, a soft stone found locally. It is phallic shaped, with an encircling incision at the top, depicting the glans, and almost centred on the lower sector or shaft of the phallus is a vertical incision indicating the female genitalia.<sup>36</sup> A similar image from the Erimi culture site of *Kissonerga-Masphilia*, on the far southwest coast appears to represent the evolution of the anthropomorphised androgynous depictions of the Erimi culture (Fig. 5). It is a phallic shape on which the glans is clearly marked on the very top, and an incision indicating the female pudenda is centralised on the lower portion. Arms protrude from either side of the shape.<sup>37</sup> The small size of these figures suggests they were designed to fit in the hand, perhaps as fertility cult objects.<sup>38</sup>

During the fourth millennium, sexually ambiguous depictions emerged in the shape of the cruciform. Cruciform images are considered to be the "hallmark" of the Erimi culture,<sup>39</sup> and some of these figures possess characteristics, which are found in the androgynous iconography of previous millennia, including the emphasis



Fig. 6. Picrolite cruciform, double figurine, Chalcolithic, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas region, height 8 cm, Hadjiprodromou Collection. Inv. No. 1981/V-4/9.

on female fertility aspects. Numerous examples of this shape have been found and they are mainly from Erimi culture sites in southwestern Cyprus. They are often a combination of two images, one standing vertically and another horizontally, giving the appearance of arms to the vertical figure (Fig. 6).<sup>40</sup> Some of the smaller images were pierced on the top and may have been used as pendants or made into necklaces, as can be seen on the cruciform statuette from Yialia, which wears a miniature of itself around its neck (Fig. 4). The cruciform figures all have elongated phallic necks and heads and sometimes a swollen neck, which is perhaps indicative of the masculine Adam's apple, as indicated on the cruciform from *Souskiou-Vathyrkakas* (Fig. 6); but male genitalia are never indicated.<sup>41</sup> Any sexual mark-

ings are always female; these may be breasts, incised vulva and/or an apparently pregnant abdomen, which is readily apparent on the statuette from *Lemba-Lakkous*, commonly known as the "Lemba Lady".<sup>42</sup> The images are often squatting. Images of various sizes have been found in buildings and burials, indicating they served in both life and death. In burials, they were usually associated with women and children. They have been interpreted as representing a Cypriot fertility goddess of life and death, the predecessor to the dual-sexed Aphrodite of the historical period, but opinions vary in this regard.<sup>43</sup>

Although they were not a feature of Erimi sites in the rest of Cyprus, the concentration of cruciform images in the south and southwestern Erimi culture societies suggests they were an innovation of this area.<sup>44</sup> It would seem, therefore, that there were some cultural and/or religious differences between the Erimi sites in the north and south of the island, notwithstanding the fact that picrolite, the soft green stone from which most of the cruciforms were manufactured,<sup>45</sup> was a product of southern Cyprus. These differences were perhaps the result of influences that were peculiar to the sites where these images were produced, such as those resulting from trade or migration.<sup>46</sup>

#### Early to Middle Bronze Age: c. 2000–1650 BCE

From this time there is another gap in evidence for the practice of creating sexually ambiguous figures; production seems to have been interrupted in Cyprus around the middle of the third millennium BCE, during which period major social and political

changes occurred at Erimi culture settlements. However, the sexual ambivalence that had characterised the depictions of the previous millennia reappeared in some of the plank-figures that emerged c. 2000 BCE. These images seem to have been produced for approximately two hundred years.<sup>47</sup> They have been found mainly in cemeteries in the northern and central northern areas of Cyprus, with a few in settlements.<sup>48</sup>

These figurines are flat (two dimensional) rectangular representations, and are hand-made, usually of clay (Red Polished Ware).<sup>49</sup> They are often heavily incised with clothing and decorative features, suggesting they are dressed for a special occasion.<sup>50</sup> The incisions were usually filled with white chalk before firing in order to accentuate the markings,<sup>51</sup> which are of geometric design and match those found on the pottery of this period.<sup>52</sup> As with the cruciforms, there is often no obvious indication of sex, and this has led to much scholarly discussion regarding their sexual identity as well as their purpose, but with inconclusive results.<sup>53</sup> Those, which do have sexual characteristics, are usually female and a few appear to be dual-sexed.

One such figure is from the necropolis of Ayia Paraskevi in Nicosia, and is dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 7).<sup>54</sup> It has a long beard, small breasts,<sup>55</sup> and wears a shoulder cape on its right shoulder, a garment usually found on female plank images. Taking into account the breasts, long hair at the back of the image and the feminine shoulder cape, it has been suggested that the image is a female with a very long chin.<sup>56</sup> However, the markings on the lower section of



Fig. 7. White Painted Ware plank figure, beard, breasts, Middle Bronze Age, 1900-1650 BCE, Tomb 8, Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi, height 34 cm, Cyprus Museum. Inv. No. CS 2028/1.

the face certainly appear more like a beard than a long chin. Furthermore, the view of a Campo that plank figures with legs are males,<sup>57</sup> supports the dual-sexed interpretation. There is little contextual evidence to assist with the identification or function of this image, except that it was found in a tomb; but it does seem to be the earliest of the bearded dual-sexed images that are to be found in Cyprus in the following period down to around the sixth century BCE.

#### **Late Bronze Age: c. 1650-1050 BCE**

Two further dual-sexed images, which appear to echo the earlier plank-style imagery, date to the early period of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>58</sup> The first of the two is purportedly from Paphos,<sup>59</sup> where the temple dedicated to the predecessors of the dual-sexed Aphrodite was built c. 1200 BCE,<sup>60</sup> although the site may well have been settled much earlier, from the early second millennium (Fig. 8).<sup>61</sup> Ohnefalsch-

Richter describes the clay figurine as resembling a plank, but approaching human shape, with legs but without arms;<sup>62</sup> the face slightly projected, and the eyes and nose depicted as holes. It had female breasts and male genitalia. However, the figurine's dual sexuality has been questioned, in particular the presence of male genitalia;<sup>63</sup> but

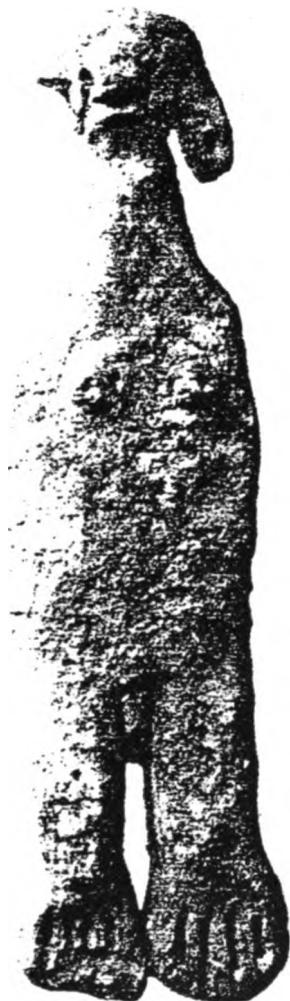


Fig. 8. Clay figurine, breasts, phallus, c. early Late Bronze Age, c. 1600 – 1450 BCE, possibly from Paphos, height 18.5 cm, originally housed in the Berlin Museum Antiquarium. Inv. No. T.C. 6683, 57. (Ohnesfalsch-Richter 1893, 371, pl. 36, 1).

the image published by Ohnesfalsch-Richter,<sup>64</sup> certainly seems to support his dual-sexed interpretation, as a phallus is clearly shown.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately it is not possible to examine this figure, as it no longer exists.<sup>66</sup>

The other similarly styled figure, which dates to the same period, is of unknown provenance.<sup>67</sup> It too is of clay and has a plank like body, male genitalia and moulded female breasts. Doubt has been expressed regarding the classification of the breasts as a female sexual characteristic,<sup>68</sup> but it would seem that they are significant, as they have been purposely attached to the chest.<sup>69</sup>

As there is so little information available for these two figures, it is difficult to interpret their identities or purposes. However, they do give evidence for the continuing depiction of dual-sexed imagery in Cyprus into the early period of the Late Bronze Age.

In the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, influence from the Greek mainland appears in a terracotta dual-sexed figure dated to Late Helladic III (c. 1400–1050 BCE) (Fig. 9).<sup>70</sup> The image is of a human head and upper torso, and is made of cream clay, covered with a pink slip. It has a moustache and beard, with significantly developed female breasts, and wears a cap. All of these features are painted brown. Karageorghis identifies the figurine as female, and considers the paint on the chin to be part of a band around the neck rather than a beard.<sup>71</sup> Although there is some brown paint in the neck area on the left side of the figurine, there is none on the right and it does not seem to continue around to the back of the neck, where there is a small isolated patch of brown paint; nor



Fig. 9. Terracotta figurine with cap, beard, breasts, Mycenaean, Late Helladic III, c.1400–1050 BCE, unknown provenance, height 7.3 cm, Cyprus Museum. Inv. No. A30.

does the brown paint, which depicts a moustache, extend around the neck. Although this image is identified as Mycenaean, its provenance is unknown.<sup>72</sup> The Mycenaeans began migrating to Cyprus in large numbers from around 1400 BCE, and especially so from the twelfth century until the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>73</sup> The figure may have been attached to the inside of a bowl or vase, as it is narrow and its back is rounded.<sup>74</sup> As with the previous two images, there is little known of this figurine and so its significance can only be a matter for speculation.

Nevertheless, it does indicate that in Cyprus dual-sexed imagery continued into the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, at this time with a decided Greek mainland influence. This figure is also a continuation of the bearded dual-sexed tradition.

#### Late Bronze/Early Iron Age – Late Archaic: c. 1050–480 BCE

In the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age dual-sexed imagery was a feature of the cult practised at the open-air sanctuary of Ayia Irini, where a number of dual-sexed minotaurs and an anthropomorph were excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929–1930.<sup>75</sup> They were part of a cache of approximately two thousand terracottas which were found at the site, some of which were *in situ*, placed around a stone altar. The site had seven periods of activity, revealing that it had been a cult centre for more than 1000 years from the Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot III; c. 1200 BCE) to the latter part of the first century BCE. The most significant cult activity occurred up to Cypro-Archaic II, c. 480 BCE,<sup>76</sup> at which time the sanctuary was destroyed by flood and subsequently abandoned until the Hellenistic period. It was then once more used as a sacred centre, albeit to a lesser degree until the latter part of the first century BCE.<sup>77</sup> The dual-sexed figures date from Periods 2 to 4, c. 1050–550 BCE. The sanctuary is thought to have been a centre for an agrarian cult presided over by a deity of fertility who protected crops and livestock.<sup>78</sup> It is believed to be the same cult that continued and evolved at the site throughout the various



Fig. 10. Terracotta minotaur, breasts under both arms, male genitalia, traces of genitalia over hole at front, Period 3 c. 800–700 BCE, Ayia Irini, height 33.2 cm, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. No. A.I. 1775.

occupation periods, and that a sacred oval stone had been the fertility cult object from the very earliest period.<sup>79</sup> The bull also featured as a symbol of fertility as indicated by the statuettes of this animal,<sup>80</sup> and the two statuettes of humans (presumably priests), each wearing a bull mask, which were found at the sanctuary.<sup>81</sup>

This combination of human and bull is manifested in the minotaur figures found at Ayia Irini, seven of which are dual-sexed. Four of the dual-sexed minotaurs are housed in the Cyprus Museum,<sup>82</sup> and the remaining three in the Medelhavsmuseet.<sup>83</sup> All of these statuettes have female breasts,

either on the torso or in the armpits,<sup>84</sup> and most have male genitalia or traces of them on the front of the lower, cylindrical animal body, as well as short beards. They have human heads and torsos that are attached to a four-legged animal body, with a tail or remnants of a tail. All of these images have their heads tilted up and slightly backwards, and all but two of them seem to have had uplifted arms. The anthropomorph has both arms uplifted.

The two earliest minotaurs date to Period 2, c. 1050–800 BCE, and were found at the altar.<sup>85</sup> One of these has female breasts and male genitalia attached to the front. It has clay plaits representing hair hanging down behind the neck and a short beard.<sup>86</sup> The arms have been broken off at the shoulders. The other minotaur of this period has a female breast under its left arm, a short beard, and remains of male genitalia on the front of the body. The left arm is raised, and in its hand is a snake that coils from the head, down the back of the torso and along the animal body. The right arm is missing.<sup>87</sup>

There are similarities between the dual-sexed minotaurs of Periods 2 and Period 3, c. 800–700 BCE.<sup>88</sup> Like the minotaur mentioned above from Period 2, which has a female breast in the armpit, one of the Period 3 minotaurs has a breast under each uplifted arm (Fig. 10). Traces of male genitalia remain over the substantial hole centred on the front of the animal body. This figure also has a short beard, and it wears a conical helmet with a nose cover. The remains of two snakes coil upwards from the sides of the body of the animal to the human torso, passing behind the breasts to the neck.

Perhaps the snakes were held in the minotaur's hands, which have broken off.<sup>89</sup>

The second minotaur from Period 3 has a beard, small female breasts and large male genitals although the phallus has broken away. Both arms have also broken away.<sup>90</sup> As with the first figure from this period (Fig. 10), at the front of this figure below the genital region there is a large hole. The area surrounding the hole is relatively smooth and has no signs of breakage. The rear of the figure is broken away in the rump area. As the first minotaur has a similar hole at the front of it, as well as a vent hole in the rump area, it seems probable that this figure would have been made in a similar fashion. Perhaps the large holes in the front of these figures represent female sexuality.

Although having some stylistic variations, the three dual-sexed minotaurs from Period 4, c. 700–550 BCE, have characteristics resembling those of the previous periods. One minotaur (Fig. 11) has female breasts, male genitalia, plaits hanging from the back of its head, and thick curls of hair down either side of the breasts. The right arm is raised and holds a goblet, whilst the left arm is bent downwards, holding what appears to be a small incomplete animal.<sup>91</sup> Another minotaur dating to the same period also has female breasts, male genitalia and thick curling hair hanging down beside each breast. It too holds a goblet in an upraised right hand; the left arm is missing. This figure wears a conical cap with a nose cover and has traces of a black beard.<sup>92</sup>

The third dual-sexed minotaur from Period 4 differs from the other two for that period. It has female



Fig. 11. Terracotta minotaur, female breasts, male genitalia, 43.5 cm high, Period 4, c. 700–550 BCE, Ayia Irini sanctuary, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. No. A.I. 2328+2340+2373. (Karageorghis et al. 2003, 164–165, 190, cat. no. 190).

breasts, and a beard, as well as small horns on top of its head. Both arms are raised, and across the tail area of the animal body are the remnants of a snake. This figure is decorated with painted lattice work on the trunk and a palm tree and bird are painted on the front of the animal body.<sup>93</sup>

As well as the dual sexed minotaurs, dual-sexed anthropomorphs were also found at the Ayia Irini sanctuary. The dual-sexed anthropomorph, which is from Period 3 (c. 800–700 BCE), the same period as the minotaur in Figure 10, wears a chiton and has prominent female breasts and

a beard with traces of black paint. Its arms are uplifted, and a snake curls around the back of the image and over its left shoulder. The snake suggests an association with the bisexual minotaurs,<sup>94</sup> and it may be that this figure represents a priest of the cult or an adorant.<sup>95</sup>

As terracotta chariots and warriors formed part of the two thousand figures found at the Ayia Irini site, it

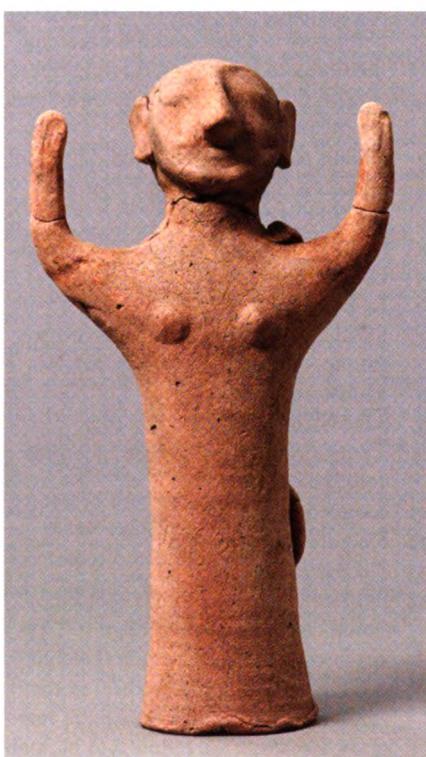


Fig. 12. Terracotta dual-sexed human, painted beard, female breasts, Period 3, c. 800–700 BCE, Ayia Irini, height 36.2 cm, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. No. A.I. 2316.

appears that the deity worshipped at this sanctuary was also a god of war as well as of fertility.<sup>96</sup> But the dual-sexed figures are potent and more obvious symbols of fertility, comprising the male and female sexual char-

acteristics necessary for procreation. The bull is a symbol of male virility and the application of male human genitalia to the trunk of a bull perhaps was seen to enhance the potency of the male fertility.

Despite the lacunae in evidence, it is clear there is a tradition of dual-sexed figures from the Neolithic to the historical period. After the urge to survive, the most compelling urge is to reproduce; so these figures would

probably be seen at best, as related to the promotion of fertility. They may be talismanic, ritualistic, votive or depict a deity; but they all relate to the continuation of the community.

#### NOTES

- 1 My thanks to Dr. Dorothy Watts, University of Queensland for reading the drafts of this paper. All opinions excepting as otherwise acknowledged are my own.
- 2 Childe 1965, 35; Perles 2001, 38, 305.
- 3 Gimbutas 1974, 152-157; Perles 2001, 258-260, 266, 302.
- 4 Dikaios 1953, 337; Peltenburg 1990, 4.
- 5 Dikaios 1953, pl. 95.
- 6 Le Brun 2002, 30.
- 7 Dikaios 1953, 297 (Type 4 Flat), 391, cat. no. 967, pls. 95.967, 143.967, IV.
- 8 Morris 1985, 117-118.
- 9 Morris 1985, 118, figs. 103-105.
- 10 Karageorghis 1992, 18; Karageorghis 1985, 924, fig. 73.
- 11 Karageorghis 1992, 18.
- 12 Dikaios 1961, 209-213.
- 13 Niklasson 1991, 173.
- 14 Dikaios (1961, 212) thinks that the Sotira culture may be foreign to Cyprus in view of Angel's study (Dikaios 1961, 224-229). A comparison of the skulls from Sotira and Khirokitia suggests that there are ethnic and biological differences between the peoples of these two sites. For a detailed discussion of the human remains at Khirokitia, see Angel 1953, 416-430.
- 15 Peltenburg 1990, 5.
- 16 These figures are discussed below. Cf. Vagnetti (1980, 40), who argues against a continuation of style. See also a Campo 1994, 77-80.
- 17 Flourentzos & Stylianou (1996, 19) date this figure to Neolithic II/Ceramic Neolithic, 4500-3750 BCE. See Niklasson (1991, 241) and Peltenburg (1989, xvi) for chronology. For discussion on the dating of this figure see
- 18 Swiny & Swiny (1983, 58-59) who make comparisons with similarly styled Chalcolithic figures. See also Vagnetti 1974, 27-28; and Crouwel 1978, 36-38.
- 19 Swiny & Swiny 1983, 56. See also Karageorghis, 1992, 18; and Karageorghis 1986, 45.
- 20 Flourentzos & Stylianou 1996, 19.
- 21 Flourentzos & Stylianou (1996, 22) date this figure to the Chalcolithic II/Late Chalcolithic (2500-2300 BCE).
- 22 Swiny & Swiny 1983, 57-58.
- 23 Swiny 1983, 57-58.
- 24 Goring 1991, 41. See also, Peltenburg et al. 1991, fig. 24; Peltenburg et al. 1998, fig. 85.5; Karageorghis 1991, 8, 13, fig. 2; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 36, fig. 18.
- 25 Swiny & Swiny 1983, 58.
- 26 Dikaios 1961, 201-2, pl. 91, fig. 106.
- 27 Dikaios 1961, 202.
- 28 Swiny & Swiny 1983, 58.
- 29 Karageorghis 1992, 18.
- 30 See also Peltenburg 1982 for the evolution of the cruciform figurines from the Sotira figurines, c. 4500 BCE.
- 31 Bolger 2003, 214, table app. 1.1. See also Bolger 1988, 131, table 9.
- 32 Bolger 1988, 114.
- 33 Bolger 1988, 11.
- 34 Bolger 1988, 115 (6), cat. no. 342, fig. 34, pl. 18; Karageorghis 1992, 19.
- 35 Many of the figurines found at the ceremonial area of the Kissonerga-Mosphilia site also exhibit wear marks indicating they were handled or rubbed. In particular, the birthing images from this site may have been used as models demonstrating parturition at initiation and/or puberty rituals (Goring 1991, 54; Bolger 2002, 75).
- 36 Bolger 1988, 115 (10), cat. no. 1073, fig. 35.
- 37 Goring 1998, 158-159, pl. 32.17, fig. 84.11.
- 38 Bolger (1988, 106) suggests they may be pieces of erotic art.
- 39 Crewe, Peltenburg & Spanou 2002, 21.
- 40 There are cruciform images which are comprised of more than two figures, but these are not discussed in this paper.
- 41 Goring 1998, 152.
- 42 Peltenburg 1977, 140-143, frontispiece; cf. a Campo (1994, 86-87), who does not consider this image to be a cruciform, but suggests that whilst there are similarities, they are "superficial".
- 43 J. Karageorghis 1977, 28-32; Webb 1989, 106. For the purpose of brevity, the discussion relating to the identification of these images as deities is not included in this paper. See also Reitler 1960-63, 22-27. Cf. Vagnetti (1980, 56), who does not agree with the dual-sexed interpretation; and also a Campo (1994, 84-85).
- 44 Vagnetti 1980, 61.
- 45 Crewe, Peltenburg & Spanou 2002, 22.
- 46 Cf. Crewe, Peltenburg & Spanou (2002, 21), who suggest that based on the discovery of segmented faience beads from fourth millennium Mesopotamia and the introduction of metalwork during this period, the figures' evolution may be a result of "transmaritime" contacts rather than through isolation of the island, as previously thought.

47 a Campo 1994, 98; Bolger 2003, 90.

48 Talalay & Cullen 2003, 184.

49 a Campo 1994, 105. See also Flourentzos (1975, 31) for the manufacturing technique of these images as well as an explanation of Red Polished Ware.

50 Morris 1985, 161. Cf. a Campo 1994, 102-105, 109.

51 a Campo 1994, 105.

52 a Campo 1994, 104.

53 Eg. Talalay & Cullen 2002, 181-209; a Campo 1994, 143-150; Karageorghis 1991, 49; Karageorghis 1970, 11-13; Morris 1985, 135-162; Flourentzos 1975, 29-35.

54 Kromholz 1982, 270, 274, WPIII (?); Morris 1985, 157-160.

55 Karageorghis 1985, 837-838, fig. 22.a-b. Cf. n. 53 this publication.

56 Morris 1985, 157. Karageorghis (1991, 174, 176, cat. no. WHP.D1, pl. 138.1) acknowledges Morris' suggestion may be correct, that the image is of a female with a long chin.

57 a Campo 1994, 147-148, 150, pl. 4.1b.

58 Karageorghis 1991, 176, 180.

59 Ohnfalsch-Richter (1893, 371) says that the image was from the Cesnola collection.

60 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 81.

61 Webb 1999, 58.

62 Ohnfalsch-Richter 1893, 371.

63 Karageorghis 1991, 178, 180, cat. no. Ea.8, fig. 137.

64 Ohnfalsch-Richter 1893, pl. 36.1.

65 See also Hamilton 2000, 27, fig. 2.7 b.

66 Dr. Sylvia Brehme of the Berlin Museum advised via email, 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2005, that the item is no longer in the museum's possession and was most likely a casualty of World War 2. The museum has no pre-war photographs which it could supply. I would like to thank Dr. Brehme for supplying me with this information.

67 Karageorghis 1991, 178, cat. no. Ea.10, pl. 140.8.

68 Karageorghis 1991, 180, cat. no. Ea.10, pl. 140.8. See also Hamilton 2000, 27, fig. 2.7a; and Knapp & Meskell 1997, 195-196, fig. 6. The image shown in fig. 6 of Knapp & Meskell is incor-

rectly designated as fig. 137 in Karageorghis 1991, 178.

69 Dr. Simon Eccles of Glasgow Museums advises that they are "rounded and deliberately applied to the torso rather than moulded from it and the chest does not look like a male chest." This advice was via email 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2005. My thanks to Dr. Eccles for examining this figure and supplying this information.

70 Nicolaou 1964, 49-50, 57, pl. 4.a-d. I would like to thank Dr. Robert Millees for advising me of this item and Nicolaou's publication.

71 Karageorghis 1968, Book 3, 38-39, pl. 35.2.

72 See also Hamilton 2000, 27.

73 Karageorghis 1990, 32, 39.

74 Nicolau 1964, 49.

75 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 642; Gjerstad 1963, 3.

76 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 815-824; Winbladh 2003, 152-153; Karageorghis (2003, xiii) for chronology.

77 Winbladh 2003, 153; cf. Gjerstad 1963, 3; Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 674, 820.

78 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 821. Dr. Sanne Houby-Nielsen (personal communication) argues against the identification of the cult as "rural", as the sanctuary was not located far from a "nucleus settlement", but merely on the outskirts, a location which is "well-known" from Phoenician and Greek sites.

79 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 821.

80 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 821.

81 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 789 (Type II); Winbladh 2003, 162, cat. no. 187.

82 Inv. nos. A.I. 2031+2361, and A.I. 2044, which Karageorghis (1993, 69, cat. no. GG1, pl. 30.6; resp. cat. no. GG2, pl. 30.7) dates to Period 2, c. 1050 - 800 BCE, and Inv. nos. A.I. 2350 and A.I. 1690, which Karageorghis (1996, 5, cat. no. A.8, pl. 3.2; resp. 4, cat. no. A.6, fig. 2, pl. 2.4) dates to Period 4, c. 700-550 BCE.

83 Inv. nos. A.I. 2320, A.I. 1775, A.I. 2328+2340+2373.

84 See also Inv. no. A.I. 2031+2361, Cyprus Museum (Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 749, A.I. 2031+2361, pl. 227.1; Gjerstad 1963, 33; Karageorghis 1993, 69).

85 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 750, A.I. 2044; Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 749, A.I. 2031+2361.

86 Karageorghis 1993, 69, cat. no. GG2, pl. 30.7; Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 750, A.I. 2044, pl. 227.4.

87 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 749, A.I. 2031+2361; Karageorghis 1993, 69, cat. no. GG1, pl. 30.6.

88 Figure 10 is of similar description to Inv. No. A.I. 2031+2361 and Gjerstad (1963, 3, 33) believes that these two figures are contemporaneous. He suggests the latest date for Inv. no. A.I. 2031+2361 would be at the end of Period 2, no later than c. 775 BCE.

89 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 740, A.I. 1775, pl. 227.6; Gjerstad 1963, 33; Karageorghis et al. 2003, 163-164, cat. no. 189; Karageorghis 1996, 3, cat. no. A.4, pl. 2.2.

90 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 760, A.I. 2320, pl. 227.2; Karageorghis 1996, 3, cat. no. A.3, pl. 2.1.

91 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 760, A.I. 2328+2340+2373; Karageorghis 1996, 5, cat. no. A.7, pl. 3.1; Winbladh 2003, 164-165, cat. no. 190.

92 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 761, A.I. 2350; Karageorghis 1996, 5, cat. no. A.8, pl. 3.2.

93 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 735, A.I. 1690, pl. 227.3; Karageorghis 1996, 4, cat. no. A.6, fig. 2, pl. 2.4.

94 Gjerstad 1963, 39.

95 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 759, A.I. 2316, 790 (Type 1), pl. 136; Winbladh 2003, 167-168, cat. no. 192. Another anthropomorph which is sexually ambiguous is the headless statuette that holds a shield, and has female breasts. It has its right arm raised (Gjerstad, E. et al. 1935, 762, A.I. 2375).

96 Winbladh 2003, 152

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# COMMEMORATED AND HONOURED: WOMEN IN DEDICATORY AND HONORIFIC INSCRIPTIONS OF HELLENISTIC CYPRUS

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## Introduction

From the commotion following Alexander's death, emerged the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Antigonide dynasties, which for the next centuries took the political stage. While a number of institutions characteristic of the Greek *polis* continued to operate until at least the second century BC,<sup>1</sup> the Hellenistic period experienced many cultural and social changes, not least to family structure and status of women.<sup>2</sup>

With its rapid Hellenization under the Ptolemaic rule, Cyprus deserves to be looked at separately. This paper aims to explore the visibility of women in public space in Hellenistic Cyprus as revealed from dedicatory and honorific inscriptions from Old Paphos and Kourion. Moreover, it will consider the introduction of the cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos, the spread of her imagery and the implications that this had for the development of portrait-like iconography of limestone sculpture and the presence of women in public places.

## Towards increased visibility in public space

Inscriptions, as no other ancient sources, attest to individual participation in civic life. This is particularly

true of women of whom literary and legal sources are mostly silent.

From the end of the Classical period women appear outside the *oikos* and the religious sphere.<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, record wealthy women who assumed public roles. In these texts, almost always inscribed on statue bases, women are declared benefactresses who spend their private funds for civic purposes.<sup>4</sup> Disposal of wealth, which was a result of changes in private law,<sup>5</sup> obliged women to follow the footsteps of their male relatives.

The practice of public benefactions originates from Greek cities' growing dependence on individual wealth to finance public works and to hold offices.<sup>6</sup> For their benefactions, men and women were awarded honours and privileges. These took a variety of expressions. Judging from the extant epigraphic record, from the end of the fourth century BC onwards, public statuary was held in particularly high esteem by communities and their benefactors.<sup>7</sup> Over time, statues commemorating the living filled prominent public places and contributed to their monumentaliza-

tion. Images of women were displayed in sanctuaries, along main streets and in market places, while inscribed statue bases prised their genealogy and merits. Among women, priestesses were the first to have their statues erected.<sup>8</sup>

Much has been written on how the evidence of women's presence in public space is to be interpreted. Van Bremen argued that women's visibility in public led to only limited participation in the lives of their communities. Women's readiness to perform civic benefactions was not reciprocated in a similar manner as it was in case of male benefactors. When awarded honours and offices, women merely received ceremonial functions – the exercising of power remained beyond their reach.<sup>9</sup>

The influx of Greek population to Cyprus paved way for swift changes that affected all spheres of civic life. Contrary to what was previously held, Mitford was able to demonstrate that institutions characteristic of the Greek *polis* existed in Cyprus until at least the third century BC.<sup>10</sup> With the Greek nobles, who took up high offices within the Ptolemaic administration of the island, came also their spouses.

## Women in dedicatory inscriptions of Hellenistic Cyprus

In the Hellenistic period, many statues were dedicated in the sanctuaries of Aphrodite at Old Paphos and Apollo Hylates at Kourion. Despite their formulaic contents, dedications convey a great deal about the position of women and their family ties. Several record women as dedicants. In almost all cases, the dedicatee was close kin. Women erected statues of their fathers,<sup>11</sup> husbands,<sup>12</sup> children (son and daughter),<sup>13</sup> and sons.<sup>14</sup> Not only may they be credited with dedicating statues but they also had statues put up in their name. As attested in some late third century inscriptions, found at both sanctuaries, husbands erected statues of their wives.<sup>15</sup> In one case grandchildren honoured their maternal grandmother. Of this speaks an inscription dating to

c. 180 BC, in which [Sta(?)]sikrateia with her brother and/or sister put up a statue of her maternal grandmother, daughter of Metrodoros, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos.<sup>16</sup>

By far the most common statues, dedicated individually by women, are those of sons. Daughters appear to have had their statues erected jointly by both parents.<sup>17</sup> An example of the latter is the well-preserved marble statue base of Philotis put up by her parents, Mentor and Kleonike (Fig. 1), at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates:<sup>18</sup>

'Απόλλωνι νας. Υλάτηι  
Μέντωρ καὶ Κλεονίκη  
τὴν ἔαυτῶν θυγατέρα  
Φιλωτίδα

The formula employed is typical for dedications. Given, in nominative, is the name/s of the person/s who had commissioned and dedicated the



Fig. 1. Statue base of Philotis, daughter of Mentor and Kleonike, Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion.

statue, followed by the name, in accusative, of the person commemorated. The name of the divinity, followed by his epithet, is cited in dative. The name of the god, evoked here in the first line, was occasionally inscribed in the last. As dedications were engraved, occasionally painted, on or next to the object, the mention of the statue was considered redundant.

Since women, according to the Greek custom and law, became members of their husband's family after marriage,<sup>19</sup> it is likely that Philotis, whose dedication was made by both her parents, was unmarried at the time of the dedication. At least two more statues of the members of Mentor's family stood in the sanctuary, probably near or next to that of Philotis. One of them is the statue of Timo, erected by her father Philinos, son of Mentor,<sup>20</sup> and the other one is that of Mentor, put up by his sons Philinos, Mentor and Onesilos.<sup>21</sup> All three statues are dated to c. 190 BC. In the family *stemma*, Mitford reconstructed Philotis as the fourth sibling to the three sons of Mentor 'the Elder'.<sup>22</sup> In their review of the Kourion inscriptions, Bagnall and Drew-Bear questioned the reconstruction of the family lineage, proposing instead Philotis to be the daughter of Mentor 'the Younger' rather than his sister. As a sister, they argued, she would have joined her brothers in the dedication of their father.<sup>23</sup> In her reconstruction of Mentor's family *stemma*, Michaelidou-Nicolaou followed Bagnall and Drew-Bear.<sup>24</sup> Though none of the above inscriptions disclose at what time the statues were erected, parallels from Priene among others, suggest that statues were dedicated to an individual posthumously.<sup>25</sup> At the time

of consecration of Mentor the Elder's statue, he and his daughter, Philotis, were likely to have been deceased.

### Governors' wives

In Hellenistic Cyprus, instances of individual women dedicating statues of other women are rare. Unique example offers the inscription from Old Paphos, which records a dedication of a statue of Zeuxo of Cyrene, daughter of Ariston, by Stratonike, daughter of Nikias, native of Alexandria.<sup>26</sup> No family ties between the two women may be determined. Zeuxo was the wife of Polykrates, son of the famous athlete Mnasiades of Argos,<sup>27</sup> who quickly rose in services to the Ptolemaic rulers and held the highest office of *strategos* (governor) of Cyprus between 203 and 197 BC at the time of reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.<sup>28</sup> While native Egyptian aristocracy began to appear in the upper strata of the Ptolemaic administration only towards the end of the second century BC, Hellenic immigrants entered services of the new rulers from the very establishment of the dynasty.<sup>29</sup> Besides this private dedication,<sup>30</sup> Zeuxo was honoured with a statue by the city of Paphos.<sup>31</sup> The honorific base constituted part of a statuary group of Polykrates' family.<sup>32</sup> The much-weathered pedestal was examined by Mitford in 1938 on the temple site and published with the other Hellenistic inscriptions of Old Paphos. The stone has not been seen since. A great deal of restoration has been done to the text:

[Παφίω]γ ἡ π[όλις Ζευξοῦν] Ἀ[ρίστωνος]  
[Κυρη]γα[ίαν, τὴν γυν]αίκα [Πολυκράτους τοῦ]  
[στρα]τηγ[οῦ καὶ ἀρ]χιε[ρέως τῆς νήσου]  
[Πτ]ολ[ε]μ[αῖος] ?

The city of Paphos (honours) Zeuxo, daughter of Ariston,  
(native) of Cyrene, wife of Polykrates,  
the governor and the high-priest of the island  
(and?) Ptolemaios

Neither the dedication nor the honorific inscription places real emphasis on Zeuxo who is defined through her relationship to her husband. Stated is Zeuxo's name and patronymics and she is declared a native of Cyrene. The focus is placed on her as the wife of Polykrates, *strategos*<sup>33</sup> and *archiereus* (high-priest) of Cyprus. Unlike the private dedication, the honorific statue was put up to Zeuxo in conjunction with another person whose name is not preserved. Evidence of a statue base referring to Ptolemaios, son of Polykrates of Argos, put up in recognition by members of the *gymnasium*,<sup>34</sup> prompted Mitford to reconstruct the missing line as that of Ptolemaios, son of Zeuxo, in addition to the one named after her husband. The position of the illegible name, placed near the left margin of the stone, suggests that the statue, interpreted as that of Ptolemaios, would have stood to the right of his mother Zeuxo.<sup>35</sup> Other statues accompanied that of Zeuxo and Ptolemaios who is the one possibly accompanying her. In one of them, the city of Paphos honoured Polykrates, his children and his father Mnasiades.<sup>36</sup> This particular inscription, besides the already familiar titulature, declares Polykrates *euergetes* (benefactor). Provincial governors constituted a natural link

between the sovereigns whom they served and the indigenous population whom they ruled and sought to please. Seven years of office, which is the length of Polykrates' governorship, was an extensive period of time during which many civic projects could be endorsed.

An additional, undamaged pedestal in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos mentioned Polykrates' two daughters: Hermione and Zeuxo.<sup>37</sup> Prominence of Polykrates' family is documented elsewhere. Hermione and Zeuxo, their mother and Eukrateia, a younger daughter of Polykrates and Zeuxo, are all documented winners of chariot-races in the Panathenaia in Athens.<sup>38</sup> Polykrates' daughter Hermione is known to have been *athlophore* (a priestess) in 170/169 BC. She is believed to be the daughter of the younger Polykrates rather than the Polykrates married to Zeuxo.<sup>39</sup>

### Family monuments

Symmetry, characteristic of many statuary arrangements at the time, led Mitford to suggest that the statues were juxtaposed, possibly adorning an *exedra*. Viewed from left to right, Mitford proposed the following set up: Hermione, Zeuxo, Mnasiades, Polykrates of

Argos, Ptolemaios, Zeuxo of Kyrene, Polykrates, Eukrateia.<sup>40</sup> In this family group, Eukrateia's presence, whose statue base has not been found, is suggested exclusively on the basis of what symmetry would require. In the absence of statues, statue bases not only disclose a great deal about the dedicatees but also, from the shape of the base, the distance and number of foot-shaped depressions, tell a lot about the amount and arrangement of statues.

As may be seen in the Heraion in Samos, the habit of erecting statue groups existed as early as the Archaic period.<sup>41</sup> The Hellenistic period saw a proliferation of statuary groups often arranged in elaborate compositions and erected in public settings.<sup>42</sup> Sanctuaries of Olympia, Priene, and Lindos, among others, house a number of such monumental family groups.<sup>43</sup> The setting and sculptural composition augmented the self-advertisement of local aristocratic families conveyed in the texts listing ancestry and individual career achievements. Their number and over-life-size aimed at impressing the viewer.

Reigning Hellenistic monarchs, and in Cyprus the Ptolemies, were a natural source of inspiration for local aristocracy. Ptolemy Philadelphos and his sister/wife Arsinoë are known to have had colossal statues placed on columns in Olympia.<sup>44</sup> Between 224–221 BC, the Aetolian League erected statues of Ptolemy III, Berenike II and of eight of their children at Thermon.<sup>45</sup> It was recently suggested that family groups of the Ptolemies were less frequent in Greek sanctuaries compared to those of other Hellenistic dynasties, except the Seleucids. The issue continues to be debated.<sup>46</sup> Statue

bases of Ptolemaic rulers attest to their presence in at least one Cypriot sanctuary, that of Old Paphos.<sup>47</sup>

By nature, family monuments, whether of private character as those of Mentor's family, or formally decreed, public ones, as those of Polykrates' family, required the company of women.<sup>48</sup> Recorded in inscriptions and embodied in the accompanied statues, women's presence emphasised their roles as pious and devoted mothers, wives and daughters of prominent men engaged in public display of their ancestry and civic commitment.<sup>49</sup> Though, judging from the extant epigraphic record from Hellenistic Cyprus, women, with the possible exception of priestesses,<sup>50</sup> did not rise above family membership, their presence in stone conveyed high status and wealth.

### The cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos in Cyprus

Arsinoë Philadelphos, the strong-headed sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphos, was probably deified 1/2 June 268 BC while she still was alive and not, as previously held, after her death on July 9, 270 BC.<sup>51</sup> Her cult was shortly introduced in Cyprus as it was to other Ptolemaic possessions, in particular in the temples of native deities.<sup>52</sup>

Between 1930–1931, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition recovered a marble female head in the *cella* of Temple A in Soloi (Fig. 2). The head, currently housed in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (Inv. no. S.H. 438), was initially identified as Aphrodite.<sup>53</sup> With its large almond-shaped eyes, carefully marked brows, half-open fleshy mouth, wavy hair, which was most likely crowned with a diadem,

the head was in time attributed as Arsinoë Philadelphos.<sup>54</sup> In Soloi, as in a number of Aphrodite sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, Arsinoë's cult would be assimilated with that of Aphrodite.<sup>55</sup>

The powerful presence of Arsinoë on the island was quickly felt. The extant dedications, cut on slabs, a *cippus* from Karpasia which was interpreted as a boundary stone of her estate, altars from Old and New Paphos, Kourion and Nicosia, in addition to the marble head from a cult statue of Arsinoë from Soloi, document the firmly rooted cult of her on the island.<sup>56</sup> Her worship, one may assume, followed the pattern of ruler cult introduced in Alexandria with both formal forms of expression at sanctuaries with processions in which *kanephoroi* (basket-bearing priestesses) took part, but also informal elements directed to ordinary men and women.<sup>57</sup>

From Marion-Arsinoë, a city that Ptolemy Philadelphos re-named in honour of his sister-wife, comes evidence of *apomoira* (tax on the produce of land) imposed for the maintenance of the cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos, well documented from Egypt.<sup>58</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphos founded at least two more cities in Cyprus in Arsinoë's name.<sup>59</sup> It is thus not surprising that, besides Soloi and its surroundings, which yielded three dedications to Arsinoë Philadelphos, just as many come from Old Paphos, admitting to the popularity of Arsinoë in the coastal sites where the Ptolemaic presence was strong.<sup>60</sup> In Cyprus as in Alexandria, the deified queen is known to have had an eponym priestess – *kanephoros Arsinoes Philadelphou* – who led the procession during which the cult statue of the deified



Fig. 2. Marble head of Arsinoë Philadelphos excavated at Soloi by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition between 1930 and 1931.

queen was likely to be carried.<sup>61</sup>

Seen against the background of the introduction of the cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos and even with the circulation of her images prior to her death, one may argue that the queen's image served as a model for female limestone sculpture. On the whole, female iconography of Hellenistic Cyprus continues to be overlooked for the very reason that fewer examples appear to have been preserved and these have not been as closely studied as their male counterparts.

In the iconography of the Hellenistic period, which acquired a high degree of portrait-likeness, Cypriote aristocracy leaned heavily on the imagery of the Ptolemaic rulers.<sup>62</sup> For women, the deified Arsinoë Philadelphos could be the source of inspiration. The strife to imitate the deified queen, and in time other female members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, may be seen in the portrait-like features of female limestone statues of Hellenistic Cyprus.

### Conclusions

A visitor to a Cypriote sanctuary in the Hellenistic period would encounter a mixed gallery of statues. These represented two types of statuary honours, one in the form of dedications, put up and paid for with private funds, and the other 'public' or 'political', better known as honorific, formerly decreed by a public body. Both dedicatory and honorific statues would frequently appear as family groups carrying a strong element of self-advertisement. Among these, women were represented.

As members of local elites or aristocratic families, which moved to Cyprus during its annexation by the

Ptolemies, women clearly disposed of wealth, which they used to cover the substantial costs of erecting life-size statues commemorating their kin. Through these acts they upheld their own repute.

In Hellenistic Cyprus, women do not appear to have gained public

visibility through their own merits but through the status of their families. Unlike their counterparts from Asia Minor, the Greek mainland and the islands, honorific inscriptions of Hellenistic Cyprus do not attest to aristocratic women's participation in the public life of their communities.

In cases where women appear in honorific inscriptions, erected either by cities, *koina* or guilds, they are honoured as wives and daughters of high dignitaries and as such the highest civic and religious bodies acknowledged them.

#### NOTES

- 1 Gauthier 1985; Giovannini 1993.
- 2 Pomeroy 1984, esp. chap. 5; van Bremen 1996, 223–242; Pomeroy 1997, 205–206, 214–215.
- 3 Veyne 1990, 101–131; van Bremen 1993, 224–225; Zanker 1995, 261–263; Kron 1996, 139–182.
- 4 Eule (2001) offers a study of female citizens of the Hellenistic Asia Minor and the islands from an iconographic, topographic and epigraphic perspective, while setting them at the same time in a sociohistorical context. Van Bremen (1996) continues to be the standard work for this region.
- 5 Wolff 1973, 63–90; van Bremen 1993, 225–226.
- 6 Veyne 1990, 75.
- 7 van Bremen 1996, 180–181.
- 8 Kron 1996, 142.
- 9 van Bremen 1996.
- 10 Mitford 1953, 83; Bagnall 1976, 61–62; Mlynarczyk 1990, 110.
- 11 Mitford 1961, 18–19, no. 47.
- 12 Mitford 1961, 11, no. 24.
- 13 Mitford 1961, 24, no. 61.
- 14 Mitford 1961, 9–10, no. 19; 12, no. 27; 13, nos. 31 & 33.
- 15 Mitford 1961, 11, no. 23 (dedication to a daughter and wife) 12, nos. 28, 30; Mitford 1971, 109, no. 53.
- 16 Mitford 1961, 19, no. 48; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 112, no. 25.
- 17 Mitford 1961, 13, no. 32; 26, no. 66; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 39, no. 94; 92, no. 20.
- 18 Mitford 1971, 106–107, no. 50; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 125, no. 37.
- 19 Pomeroy 1984, 44. On the question of status of Athenian woman see the references and discussion in Patterson 1991, 52–53.
- 20 Mitford 1971, 107–108, no. 51; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 120, no. 48.
- 21 Mitford 1971, 105–106, no. 49; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 82, no. 27.
- 22 Mitford 1971, 105.
- 23 Bagnall & Drew-Bear 1973, 216–217.
- 24 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 82, no. 27.
- 25 Veyne 1962, 64–67, 90–91; van Bremen 1996, 179.
- 26 Mitford 1961, 16, no. 41; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 114, no. 42; Peremans & Van't Dack 1968, no. 15939.
- 27 Polybios V.64.6.
- 28 Polybios V.64.4–6; V.82.3; V.84.8; Bagnall 1976, 45, 253–255; Mooren 1981, 293.
- 29 Mooren 1981, 299–301.
- 30 Mitford 1961, 16, no. 41.
- 31 Mitford 1961, 17, no. 44.
- 32 Robert 1949, 202; Mitford 1961, 17–18, nos. 43–46; Bagnall 1976, 254.
- 33 Bagnall 1976, 38.
- 34 Mitford 1961, 18, no. 46; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 104–105, no. 64.
- 35 Mitford 1961, 17, no. 44.
- 36 Hogarth et al. 1888, 240–241, no. 54; Mitford 1961, 17, no. 43.
- 37 Hogarth et al. 1888, 245, no. 80; Robert 1949, 151–152, no. 202; Mitford 1961, 17–18, no. 45.
- 38 Peremans & Van't Dack 1968, nos. 17209, 17210, 17211, 17212; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 59, no. 20; 62, nos. 2–3.
- 39 IJsewijn 1961, 103–105, no. 117; Bagnall 1976, 255.
- 40 Mitford 1961, 18. Groups displayed in monumental *exedrae* throughout the Greek world are discussed in von Thüngen 1994, esp. 39–43.
- 41 Walter 1976, 67–70, figs. 70–71, 86.
- 42 Vermeule 1968, 545–559; Ridgeway 1971, 340; Balty 1988, 43, nos. 22–27; Raeck 1995, 231–240.
- 43 Hintzen-Bohlen 1992; Raeck 1995, 231–240.
- 44 OGIS 26 & 27; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 77–81, 210, no. 18; Rose 1997, 5–6; Schmidt-Donaus 2000, 203–204, fig. 65.
- 45 Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 134, 213, no. 33; Schmidt-Donaus 2000, 124, n. 582.
- 46 Rose 1997, 6; Schmidt-Donaus 2000, 102–119, esp. 119.
- 47 Mitford 1961, 8, no. 15; 11, no. 25. Anastasiades 2001, 223–231 interprets some of this evidence as that of ruler cult. Criticised by Chaniotis 2004, 198, no. 3.

48 van Bremen 1996, 179; Eule 2001, 133-140.

49 Cypriote examples of family groups in which women as wives are included are numerous. To mention some: Myraitha, wife of Theodoros was honoured with her husband and their two sons (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 85, no. 49); Myrsine, wife of Pelops, the *strategos* of Cyprus in the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 85, no. 50); Timagion, wife of Timokrates, honoured with her family (including her daughter Timis) in Kition (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 116, no. 10); Phila, daughter of Karpion, honoured with her husband and children (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 122, no. 5).

50 Phanion, daughter of Boiskos, the only known priestess of Aphrodite in the Hellenistic Cyprus: Mitford 1961, 9-10, no. 19; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 122, no. 4. Phanion's priesthood may have been honorific. See also Philotis, priestess of Demeter whose funerary *stele* was found at Soloi: Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 125, no. 36; SEG XXV, 310, no. 1118.

51 Grzybek 1990; Walbank 1992, 372. Questioned by Cadell 1998, 1-3. For the life and achievements of Arsinoë Philadelphos see Longe 1968.

52 Chaniotis 2003, 436-437.

53 Westholm 1936, 176; Gjerstad et al. 1937, 501-502, 521, 525, no. 438, Taf. 152-153.

54 Kyrieleis 1975, 82-83, Taf. 73; Erath-Koerner 2003, 31.

55 Mlynarczyk 1990, 117-120; Tatton-Brown 2000, 340; Ameling 2003.

56 Collected in Anastasiades 1998, 129-140. For most recent finds see Pilides 2003, 184; SEG LIII 469, no. 1755.

57 Thompson 1973, 117; Minas 1998, 43-60.

58 Anastasiades 1998, 135; Clarysse & Vandorpe 1998, 5-41.

59 Hill 1940, 184, n. 5; Mlynarczyk 1990, 115.

60 Summarised in Donkow 2004, 34, n. 30.

61 The evidence from Cyprus comes

among others from a Phoenician inscription from Idalion, presently housed in the British Museum. Cut on a statue base of what was likely a family monument with three statues, it refers to Ammatosir (or Amath'-osir according to Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 32, no. 24), a Phoenician woman, inhabitant of Kition, who was the *kanephoros* of Arsinoë Philadelphos. See CIS 109-112, no. 93; Volkmann 1956, 449-450; Peremans & Van't Dack 1968, 32, no. 24; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 32, no. 24; Bailey 1999, 156-160. On the evidence of *kanephoroi* in Alexandrian processions in honour of Arsinoë Philadelphos see Minas 1998, 43-56; Koenen 1993, 56, no. 73; Schorn 2001, 199-220.

62 Connally 1988, 112; Smith 1988, 151.

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# HOW MULTICULTURALISM TRANSFORMED THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

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*It is time that we considered Late Bronze Age Cyprus on its own terms, as an independent historical and cultural identity...*

*What took fashion in Cyprus was something not isolated from surrounding forces and influences, but still uniquely Cypriot.<sup>1</sup>*

James D. Muhly

## Introduction

What I want to reflect upon are the visibly dramatic changes in Cyprus, from the beginning to the end of the Late Bronze Age as reflected in this archaeological record. These indicate the evolving circumstances of the islanders at this time – developments which, I believe, provide for the continuing independence of Cyprus throughout the Late Bronze Age (16<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) and point to the creation of an early form of multiculturalism. My focus is on the following points:

1. The term 'multiculturalism' has a recent origin; it is used generally to refer to the co-existence in one state of several cultures.

2. However, in this paper I wish to refer to a specific form of multiculturalism, of the kind that exists now in Europe and Australia; that is, the

situation in which in a given state, we have a dominant culture surrounded by a number of other cultural forms, and there is respect for, and recognition of these cultural forms within that state, including by the dominant culture.

3. This form of multiculturalism, as a phenomenon, has arisen in various periods and places throughout human history – for example, in the empire of Alexander the Great and in some periods of the Roman Empire.

4. I believe that the Late Bronze Age Cyprus was one of the earliest occasions when this form of multiculturalism arose. Thus, Late Bronze Age Cyprus was, in my view, an early example of a cosmopolitan and multicultural society in which peoples of various cultures lived together relatively harmoniously. In this respect the changes on Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age imply the penetration of other cultures into Cyprus, and the general acceptance and recognition of these cultures within the Cypriot society of the Late Bronze Age. But, to that extent, we can say that there was a multicultural community.

5. As evidence of this thesis, I have sought to develop a picture of Late Bronze Age Cyprus as a vi-

brant and independent country. This thesis is developed in more detail in my book.<sup>2</sup> Drawing primarily on the evidence and analysis of Cypriot wares – but also supplemented by other archaeological evidence from Cyprus and the lands surrounding the Eastern Mediterranean, I have sought to demonstrate that the island remained essentially independent and that it had active relationships with all the surrounding civilizations. These included the Minoans and Mycenaeans from the Aegean; the Canaanite groups; the Hittite empire, and of course the Egyptians.

6. Further evidence shows that independent Late Bronze Age Cyprus established extensive trade and diplomatic links with these societies – notwithstanding the various conflicts between them. The ancient Cypriots managed this in the context of complex and changing interrelationships between the empires during very turbulent times.

7. In so doing, Late Bronze Age Cyprus managed to develop its creative skills especially as reflected in the range and production of its ceramic wares (such as White Slip, Red Lustrous and Base Ring).

Thus, the trade and diplomatic

relations between Cyprus and the other civilizations suggests that there was also a considerable presence of the people and cultures of these surrounding lands on Cyprus itself forming a multicultural community.

Much of the archaeological material on which we can base the historical analysis is due to the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Thanks to them, for the study of the Late Cypriot period, we have the results of work carried out at sites such as Nikolaidhes, Nitovikla, Ayios Iakovos, and of course the further exploration of the necropolis at Enkomi.<sup>3</sup> The results of these excavations provided the foundation that formed the basis for the general archaeological interpretation of life during the Late Bronze Age. They provided the framework and the basic categories of analysis.

### **The impact of maritime contact**

The key to the understanding of the source of this multiculturalism in Cyprus is the role of the sea – maritime contact with the island resulted in it becoming a centre for contact with the great Late Bronze Age civilizations. I have been fortunate to have a personal appreciation of this phenomenon. My father, Captain Erik Wilhelm Eriksson, grew up on the western coast of Sweden in the coastal port of Gothenburg/Göteborg and became a marine captain for many years. His last commission was as Captain of the Transatlantic owned vessel – W.R. Lundgren. Of course the main function of Transatlantic was as a local and international cargo conduit of manufactured goods and natural resources, hardly any different to the role of Bronze Age shipping,

especially if we think of the trade in copper and timber.

As many have commented, the uses of the natural resources of the island (especially copper) by some of the Cypriots was the primary factor behind the socio-economic and cultural changes that characterize the Late Bronze Age on the island (see below). In my father's shipping company, the principal role of shipping was the movement of primary resources, with some passengers. It is not really that different from the Late Bronze Age ships that, increasingly, exported Cypriot resources and ceramics to virtually all of the civilizations of the East Mediterranean basin.

The foundations for all this go back to the developments occurring in the Early to Middle Cypriot periods, when Cyprus was characterised by village culture largely oriented to agricultural labor and production. During this Middle Cypriot period, we can observe that copper production was intensifying and becoming an economic resource of the island, and the mining and processing of it contributed to a unification of the Cypriots. Foreign ships would have required daily provisioning for onward travel. With the arrival of these vessels, Cyprus, its people and resources became known to a greater sphere of contemporary Mediterranean cultures.

The archaeological record of the Late Bronze Age thus documents the development of an indigenous Cypriot culture of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, which drew from a widening horizon of available technology, religious ideas and cultural expression that such maritime contact brought with it.

### **The independence of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age**

Our general thesis here is that Cyprus was able to open up to a diversity of peoples and cultures in this way because during the whole of the Late Bronze Age, the island remained essentially independent. I have already referred to my general thesis that, in the history of Cyprus and its relations with the Eastern Mediterranean during this Late Bronze Age, there is a remarkable continuity in the production and distribution of the ceramics, which can be quite indicative of cultural changes. Wares such as White Slip and Base Ring were manufactured for the local market in what we perceive as a display of a consistent stylistic repertoire catering to the dominant cultural grouping for over a period of 400 years.

This continuity reflects not only the demand for such wares and natural resources in other lands, but also the likelihood of the general continuity of the Cypriot civilization itself over that period. This continuity, when added to the other archaeological discoveries, strongly suggests that the ancient Cypriots were a fiercely independent people, who traded with the various countries of the region.

The association between White Slip and the exploitation of one of the oldest copper mining areas for four centuries may be deeply intertwined. Thus, Courtois believed that the characteristics of White Slip ware came into being as by product of the copper mining industry.<sup>4</sup> In relation to the potters who made Base-ring ware, Knapp and Cherry concluded that they "...worked in a tradition that remained relatively stable for four centuries".<sup>5</sup> The study of Red Lustrous

Historical Period	Cyprus	Egypt (after KITCHEN 1987, 2000)		Minoan	Helladic	Hittites (see MÜLLER-KARPE 2003, fig. 1)	UGARIT
							(based on KTU 1.113)
1590						Labama	
1	LC IA:1	Late Hyksos				Hattusili I	
1550		Ahmoses I	1540-1515			Mursili I	
2	LC IA:2	Amenhotep I	1515-1494	LM IA	LH I	Hantili I	
		Thutmosis I	1494-1482			Zidanta	
		Thutmosis II	1482-1479			Ammuna	
1480		Hatshepsut	1479-1457	LM IB	LH IIA	Huzzija I	
3	LC IB	Thutmosis III	1479-1425		LH IIB	Telipinu	
		Amenhotep II	1427-1401			Tarhuwaili	
1410		Thutmosis IV	1401-1391	LM IIIA1	LH IIIA1	Alluwama	
4	LC II A:1	Amenhotep III	1391-1353		LH IIIA2a	Hantili II	
	LC II A:2			LM IIIA2	LH IIIA2b	Zidanta II	
1360		Akhenaten	1353-1337			Huzziya II	
5	LC IIB	Smenkhare	1338-1336			Tudhaliya I/II	
1340		Tutankhamun	1336-1327			Hattusili II	
6	LC IIC:1	Ay	1327-1323	LM IIIB:1	LH IIIB:1	Arnuwanda I	
		Horemheb	1323-1295			Suppiluliuma I	
1300		Rameses I	1295-1294			Niqmandu II	
	LC IIC:1	Seti I	1294-1279			Arhalbu	
		Rameses II	1279-1213			Niqmepa	
7	LC IIC:2	Merenephtah	1213-1203	LM IIIB:2	LH IIIB:2	Hattusili III	
		Amenmesses	1203-1200			Tudhaliya IV	
		Seti II	1200-1194			Kurunta	
		Siptah	1194-1188			Tudhaliya IV/III	
		Tewosret	1188-1186			Arnuwanda III	
		Setnakht	1186-1184			Suppiluliuma II	
1180		Rameses III	1184-1153			End of the Hittites	
						End of Ugarit	

Fig. 1. Chronology Table.

Wheel-made (henceforth RLW-m) ware also suggested a similar historical situation.<sup>6</sup> Karageorghis found the continuity of White Slip so significant that he raised the question as to the political circumstances, which would allow for such a pattern of continuous production to emerge.<sup>7</sup>

The thesis in my book is that, while remaining relatively autonomous, the Cypriots forged strong links with several of the key societies of the Bronze Age, with changes in emphasis from the dominance of Egypt, through to the dominance of the Mycenaean and Hittite civilizations.<sup>8</sup> The fascinating conclusion indicated by the archaeological evidence is that, notwithstanding these changes in alliances, the Late Bronze Age Cypriot society does not appear to have been conquered or totally subjugated by any of these other lands.

Yet during this Late Bronze Age period, huge changes were taking place in Egypt, the Levant, in the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations and in Anatolia. The stability indicated by the ceramic production over the major part of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus is a major part of the evidence, which allows us to conclude that conditions of relative peace must have existed for much of the Late Bronze Age on the island.

### **The historical periods of Late Bronze Age Cyprus**

The long era that is identified as Late Bronze Age Cyprus extends for hundreds of years; it begins with the first Late Cypriot period – LC IA:1 – and extends until LC IIC. Utilizing earlier classification of the periods based on the ceramics, particularly that of Prof.

Åström, I identify seven Late Cypriot periods, which go to constitute the whole historical era known as Late Bronze Age Cyprus.<sup>9</sup> These seven key Historical Periods can each be identified with particular Late Cypriot chronological phases, using Åström's definitions. We accept Åström's general point here that: "Cypriote chronology is ultimately dependent on chronological schemes for Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Crete and Greece".<sup>10</sup> However, Åström's chronological phases are adjusted with a greater emphasis on Egyptian chronology.

Thus, we have the following historical periods in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Fig. 1):

#### *Period 1 = LC IA:1*

This period refers primarily to the links between the Hyksos and Cyprus. During this period, Cyprus was only just opening cautiously to the influence of other societies – it was still essentially monocultural. The conflict in Egypt, which led to the fall of the Hyksos rulers, continued for decades and must have impacted on the island.

#### *Period 2 = LC IA:2*

This period refers to the links between Cyprus and other societies, beginning just before the start of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt and extending through the reigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II. The surviving Late Cypriot IA:2 imports to Egypt, from the beginning of the New Kingdom until the reign of Thutmose II, show us how the links between Cyprus and Egypt increased and extended during this period. In addition to the White Slip at Tell el-Dab'a, the quantities of Base-ring

I and RLW-m along the Nile Valley demonstrate strengthening links with Cyprus.<sup>11</sup> The LC IA:2 period was also the time when important links between the Minoan civilization and Cyprus were being strengthened.<sup>12</sup> Thus, during this period, we see the beginnings of multiculturalism. There is an opening up to the Egyptian, Canaanite and Minoan civilizations – but the Hittites and the Mycenaeans have hardly entered the picture.

#### *Period 3 = LC IB*

The Third Period, LC IB, begins from the start of the reign of Thutmose III (including the co regency with Hatshepsut) and extends to the last part of the reign of Amenhotep II. More extensive links developed between Cyprus with Egypt and the Levantine area during this time. Thus it is no coincidence that we have a big increase in the numbers of Cypriot pottery occurring in Egypt, around the time of Thutmose III. Cyprus opened up even more dramatically to contact with peoples from Egypt, Syria Palestine and the Minoan Civilization and this constituted a major phase in multicultural development. During this time, as others have observed,<sup>13</sup> Cyprus managed to remain independent and significantly extended its trade with all these major powers. However, the international tensions did have an impact on Cyprus itself. Towards the end of Period 3, the island was attacked by a coalition of Ahhiyans (generally accepted as being the Mycenaeans) and the Hittite vassal king Madduwatta. This attack did not succeed and Madduwatta had to apologize to the Hittite king for his actions. The fact that Madduwatta's attempts were resisted by the indige-

nous Cypriots, even though he was an ally of the Hittites, further demonstrates our thesis of the independence of the island. What we can see from the last part of this period LC IB is the beginning of the penetration of two other cultural forms into multicultural Late Bronze Age Cyprus, namely, the Mycenaeans and the Hittites.

#### *Period 4 = LC II A:1-2*

Significant events involving Cyprus occurred during this period; we have the rise of Shuppiluliumas I and the increasing influence of the Hittites in the Northern Levant, including allegations that Hittites were sent to Alashiya (the ancient name for Cyprus) as exiles. Coupled with this is the dramatic increase of Red Lustrous pottery in Hittite centres in Anatolia. There are also the increased links between Cyprus and Syria (as revealed for example, by the excavations at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida). The huge increase in Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus demonstrates the maritime interaction of the Mycenaeans and the Cypriots. The rapid expansion of Cypriot contacts with all the major centres of Mediterranean civilizations during Period 4 points to the increasing acceptance within Cyprus itself of the peoples from these diverse cultures. Both the ceramic and textual evidence support the hypothesis that independent Cyprus was a centre of interaction of these various cultures and thus became a fully fledged, early form of multicultural society at this time.

#### *Period 5 = LC II B*

This period relates to significant events for Cyprus; relations with Egypt were transformed as result of

the religious upheavals under the reign of Akhenaten and his attempts to impose the new monotheistic religion. Notwithstanding all this, Akhenaten had a good relationship with Cyprus; some of the contacts between the king of Alashiya and the Egyptian pharaoh are documented in the Amarna letters. One group of the Amarna letters – EA 33-40 – are called the Alashian letters as they are from the 'King of Alashiya' writing to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III and/or to Akhenaten.<sup>14</sup> Yet at this time, Cyprus also experienced an increase in contacts with the Mycenaean civilization and the Hittite Empire under Shuppiluliumas I. This period is specifically identified with the introduction of Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b in Cyprus and Egypt. The multicultural phase, which began with period 4, continued.

#### *Period 6 = The first part of LC II C:1*

This period refers to a time of major conflict between the Hittite Empire and Egypt; there were also internal intrigues within Egypt with a succession of rulers: Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb. It ends with the conclusion of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt. The links between Egypt and Cyprus appear to have come under strain during this period. On the other hand, there was a dramatic increase in the links of Cyprus with the Mycenaeans, as illustrated by ceramics. This was a most challenging time for the independence of Cyprus, which had to balance the demands of the Mycenaeans and the Hittites – while retaining relatively friendly links with Egypt. It is most likely that the multicultural society of Late Bronze Age Cyprus came under the most pressure during

this period. It nevertheless managed to survive and grew stronger in the next period.

#### *Period 7 = The second part of LC II C:1 and LC II C:2*

This period refers to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt under the reigns of Ramesses I, Sety I and Ramesses II; it then continues to some time before Year 8 of Ramesses III in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which is when Egypt did battle with the Sea Peoples. During this long period, the power of independent Cyprus increased; we have records of relations with a number of surrounding countries – including Egypt, Ugarit, the Mycenaeans and the Hittites. The leaders of Cyprus managed the pressures well during this period. An outstanding example is the banishment of Urhi-Teshub, son of the Hittite king Muwatalli.<sup>15</sup> During the second half of this Period 7, the Hittites carried out a major attack on Cyprus, which by now was even more powerful as indicated by her possession of her own naval force. Although this attack succeeded in destroying the Cypriot naval forces, the Hittite king still failed in his attempt to conquer the island.<sup>16</sup> However, towards the end of Period 7 (during LC II C:2), the east Mediterranean was in turmoil. The consequent events brought the end of this prosperous and creative period for the people of Cyprus, as well as the end of this phase of being an early multicultural society.

#### **Swedish evidence for the development of multiculturalism in Cyprus**

The work of the Swedish Cyprus expedition at Nitovikla, Nikolidhes,

Ayios Iakovos and Enkomi revealed the culture of Late Bronze Age Cyprus as it was responding to the dramatic changes within and its response to the changing political situation abroad. It is worth reconsidering in more detail the results of the SCE at some of these sites and how they illustrate multiculturalism in Late Bronze Age Cyprus:

#### *A. Nitovikla – maritime refuge or fortress?*

In 1929 the SCE carried out exploration and excavation in the Karpass area, which Gjerstad described as "... a rich and lovely district".<sup>17</sup> A place from where one could see "... the snow covered peaks of Lebanon glitter across the sea...".<sup>18</sup> It was here that the SCE undertook excavations at the fortress of Nitovikla, which is situated on "... a rocky plateau rising straight from the beach to a height of about 25 metres...".<sup>19</sup> In Gjerstad's opinion the plan of the fortress and the lack of settlement remains suggested that it "...must have been used as a refuge to which people could come from the unfortified villages when enemy armies had invaded the country".<sup>20</sup> He felt this was supported by the findings from a nearby necropolis, which contained only 15 tombs, three of which are published.<sup>21</sup> They belong to late Middle Cypriot III date, with the presence of Base-ring I in Tomb 2 indicating the types we use to characterize Late Cypriot I. As for the fortress, according to Gjerstad's interpretation the fort was built in the Middle Bronze Age, destroyed, and then rebuilt ca 1500 BC. He considered that it was similar to fort of Nikolaidhes near Dhali, but not necessarily built for same purpose.<sup>22</sup>

Hult, after reanalysis of the Nitovikla material, determined a different dating scheme for the initial construction of the Fort in LC IB,<sup>23</sup> which clearly does not work with Gjerstad's original theory.<sup>24</sup> My view is that the end of LC IA:1 or early in the LC IA:2 period is much more likely. This ties up with the statement by Gjerstad,<sup>25</sup> which links Nitovikla to some known historical events.<sup>26</sup> In his opinion there were "... wars and revolutions on the Mainland near Karpassos. The Hurrites were advancing into Syria and Palestine. The Hittites under Mursilis I conquered northern Syria. The Hyksos people were driven out of Egypt and Egypt began to occupy Palestine".

On the question of the use of Nitovikla, the very fact that the fort's position is on the coast rather than inland suggests to me that it served a maritime purpose, a place where ships could anchor and obtain fresh water and provisions. Its location and features bring to mind the Late Cypriot II fortified promontory of Maa-Palaekastro; a site which some feel was used as a landing point for further penetration into the island at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In relation to Nitovikla, these vessels could be foreign, and the fact that the Mainland is visible from this part of Cyprus is, I believe, significant.

As already indicated,<sup>27</sup> by the end of the MC III period, there is clear evidence of increased foreign contacts on Cyprus. The transition into the LC IA:1 period brought with it the development of urban centres, with clear diversification of skill, and the more observable emergence of a stratified society. The emergence of complex sites closer to the coast is seen in part

as an eventual result of the increased foreign contacts, which took Cypriot products and resources to sites closer to the coast in preparation for onward distribution and use abroad. This provided one of the conditions which made possible the development of multiculturalism in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

#### *B. The importance of Ayios Iakovos*

This site is important in that it can be seen to illustrate a number of cultural influences on Cyprus. The tombs here show the continuance and development of Cypriot culture and the impact due to increased contact with the surrounding cultures of the East Mediterranean. I shall refer here to three periods. Firstly, in relation to the Middle Cypriot III period, there is evidence of Middle Bronze influence from the Hyksos/Semitic Canaanite culture in the plan of the MC III chamber tombs with their long corridor at Ayios Iakovos (Tombs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13) and Korovia Palaeoskoutella (Tumulus 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).<sup>28</sup> The similar plan of Milia Tomb 11 may also have its origins in the MC III,<sup>29</sup> just before the LC IA:1.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, a group of tomb discoveries illustrate the first two periods: LC IA:1 and LC IA:2. Thus, Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8 in its second burial shows the introduction of Base Ring I alongside the Middle Cypriot III wares, as does the second burial in Tomb 12. Ayios Iakovos Tomb 10 also belongs here and we note the impression that this horizon is "...characterised by poor mass burials".<sup>31</sup> The first burial in Tomb 14 reveals the appearance of White Slip I 'Framed Dotted Row' alongside the Middle Cypriot III assemblage and Base-ring I.

Thirdly, there are a group of burials, which illustrate the penetration of the Mycenaean influence into multicultural Cyprus (Periods 5 and 6). Thus, the third burial in Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8 includes 10 LH IIIA:2b vessels associated with 10 White Slip II bowls mostly of White Slip II early 'Ladder Lattice' rim motif, but also 'Parallel Line', and two White Slip II normal 'Ladder Lattice Dotted Row'.<sup>33</sup> This is where the contents of the second burial of Tomb 13 belong and also the second burial of Ayios Iakovos Tomb 14, which was a closed group and contained four LH IIIA:2b and two White Slip II 'Ladder Lattice'.<sup>33</sup> In each case we have specific Mycenaean wares with specified Cypriot wares – not only a good chronological synchronism, but of an intertwining of cultural views.

These are the latest Bronze Age burials recorded at the site. Of slightly earlier date than these last three tomb groups was the last use of the curious structure interpreted by Gjerstad and others as a 'Sanctuary', but which Webb suggested may have served a function as a site for a mortuary ceremony.<sup>34</sup> It had a large bath-shaped terracotta basin; it was in and around this basin that many of the finds were recorded.<sup>35</sup> Among the standard array of Cypriot wares there are four excellent examples of LH IIIA:2a pottery; a squat jug, two amphorae, and a *krater*.<sup>36</sup> Only one White Slip II 'Ladder Lattice Framed Hooked Chain' *krater* is known. Cypriot Red Lustrous ware plays a key role with six examples of the arm-shaped vessel and fragments.<sup>37</sup> There was also a spindle bottle,<sup>38</sup> which was found in the terracotta basin in the western section of the sanctuary as

well as fragments from other spindle bottles,<sup>39</sup> and lentoid shaped flasks.<sup>40</sup> These finds further strengthen our thesis about the strong multicultural nature of Cyprus at this time: thus we have here the confluence of artefacts from several cultures, Mycenaean, Babylonian, Hittite and Egyptian, in a Cypriot setting.

### *C. The Swedish excavations at Enkomi*

The extensive network of foreign relations, on which the thesis of multiculturalism relies, is illustrated by the discovery of artefacts of foreign provenance on Cyprus. These artefacts illustrate the increased contact with the cultures of Syria/Canaan, Mesopotamia, Crete and other islands, Mainland Greece, Anatolia and Egypt. The Swedish Cyprus expedition was of critical importance in the discoveries at the necropolis of Enkomi, revealing the impact of a variety of cultures on Cyprus and supporting the thesis on multiculturalism. Enkomi was one of the largest towns in Bronze Age Cyprus. The archaeological record of numerous investigations of the site, combined, present a compelling picture of Cypriot culture and the influences upon it. We can only mention these briefly here.

Like events at Nitovikla and Nikolidhes, the Enkomi settlement also suffered a series of disasters. Thus, after the original Middle Cypriot III foundation, the city was destroyed and the level I occupation (dated more broadly to the whole LC I period) suffered two catastrophes. The first floor of LC date was sealed by an ash layer of such a magnitude that it was interpreted as representing

an extensive destruction of the site. In this level I, the pottery included White Slip I, Base-ring I, and Red Lustrous ware, and thus indicated a date in LC IA:2. The Swedish discoveries in tombs reveal the multicultural influences and one should again note is the clear increase from Period 5 of Mycenaean wares in contrast to the reduction in traditional Cypriot wares. Thus in tombs dated by Åström to LC IIB or Period 5,<sup>41</sup> we see the increasing appearance of LH IIIA:2b.<sup>42</sup> In Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11, Åström commented that the earliest burials of Group IC belong to the last phase of LC IIB.<sup>43</sup> This contained an increasing number of LH IIIA:2 compared with a decreasing quantity of White Slip II.<sup>44</sup>

This increasing presence of Mycenaean wares continued in Periods 6 and 7. In the Second Burial of Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11 there are four White Slip II late 'Ladder Lattice' bowls.<sup>45</sup> They were found with 6 LH IIIA:2b; four LH IIIA:2b-IIIB; and four LH IIIB vessels. In the Third Burial there was one White Slip II late 'Parallel Line'.<sup>46</sup> It was accompanied by one LH IIIA:2b, and 15 LH IIIB vessels. In the last burial placed in the *dromos* there was a White Slip II late 'Ladder lattice' bowl,<sup>47</sup> and two LH IIIB vessels. In Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 22, a closed burial with a LH IIIB vessel along with locally produced White Painted Wheel-made III, was found.<sup>48</sup> There was no White Slip ware. Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 18 belongs to LC IIC:2 according to Åström.<sup>49</sup> In the entire tomb, there were only two fragments of White Slip II in the side chamber.<sup>50</sup> The majority of the pottery was LH IIIB and White Painted Wheel-made.<sup>51</sup> Åström noted

that the latter "occurs in increasing quantities in the chamber and is more frequent than Mycenaean IIIB in the upper layer, which belongs to the very end of Late Cypriot IIC".<sup>52</sup> For this and many other reasons, Enkomi is an excellent illustration of the multicultural development of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

### Conclusion

The totality of these historical events demonstrates that Cyprus was a

vibrant, independent society from the beginning to the end of the Late Bronze Age. During the seven historical periods of the Late Bronze Age, the island prospered. It developed trade and cultural links and 'diplomatic' relations with the most powerful surrounding kingdoms. Its rulers managed to balance the pressures and interests of the powerful empires around them. During this period of independence, extending over several hundred years, the people of Cyprus

traded with the outside world and created distinctive ceramic wares, such as the White Slip and RLW-m, which were exported far and wide. And inside Cyprus it became one of the earliest multicultural societies, which the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition revealed to the world.

### NOTES

- 1 Muhly 1985, 42.
- 2 Eriksson 2007.
- 3 Gjerstad 1926; Gjerstad et al., 1934; Sjöqvist 1940.
- 4 Courtois 1977, 16.
- 5 Knapp and Cherry 1995, 161.
- 6 Eriksson 1993.
- 7 Karageorghis 2001, 9.
- 8 Eriksson 2007.
- 9 See Eriksson 2007.
- 10 Åström 1972, 756.
- 11 See Merrillees 1968; Eriksson 1993.
- 12 Not only do we have the discovery of some White Slip I on Thera, Crete, Rhodes and Melos, we also have Late Minoan I pottery being recorded at quite a number of sites on Cyprus (Eriksson 2007).
- 13 E.g. Karageorghis 1995, 75.
- 14 These are discussed in detail in Eriksson 2007, Chapter 7. The first group of the Amarna Letters – to either Amenhotep or Akhenaten (EA 36, 37, 39 and 40) – support the view that Cyprus (Alashiya) was significantly independent at this time and that it made strenuous efforts to maintain its friendship with Egypt during LC II A:1-2.

- 15 The second group of Amarna Letters, considered to be to Akhenaten (EA 33, 34, 35, 38 and 114), show a warm and generally positive relationship between the pharaoh and the king of Alashiya. They indicate a relationship based on respect and a considerable level of mutual understanding.
- 16 Urhi-Teshub who was deposed by his own uncle, Hattusili III. He was banished initially to Syria, but then later sent "over the seas" to the land of Alashiya, or Cyprus. From here, the deposed young king appealed to the pharaoh of Egypt and later to the Ahhiyawans (assumed to be of Greek background) for help against his usurper uncle. The fact that, from banishment on Cyprus, Urhi-Teshub was able to make these appeals also indicates the independent status of the island. If Cyprus had been completely under the control of the Hittites, this would have been impossible.
- 17 The initial attack by Tudhaliyas IV was followed about 20 years later by an attempted invasion by Shuppili-llumas II, final ruler of the Hittites; the fall of Boğazköy ending his reign

- 18 and that of the Dynasty. The massive, but not fully successful, battle with Alashiya – occurred right at the end of Period 7, somewhere between ca 1200-1180 BC (see Güterbock 1997, 195). If this was the situation at the end of the Late Bronze Age, then our thesis – that Cyprus had remained independent throughout all this time – is further strengthened.
- 19 Gjerstad 1980, 49.
- 20 Gjerstad 1980, 54.
- 21 Gjerstad et al., 407-415.
- 22 Gjerstad 1980, 58.
- 23 Hult 1992.
- 24 On this issue of the dating of the first fort construction, the ceramics still seem to me to suggest a pre-LC IB date for this, contrary to Hult's view. However, it is not as early as MC III B and C as Gjerstad (Gjerstad et al., 407) initially determined. Aspects of the ashlar masonry and drafted margins of the gate reveal a knowledge which ties in with general practice around the Near East at this time.
- 25 Gjerstad 1980, 58-59.

26 Whatever the reason, the catastrophe which befell the structure at the end of Period II required massive reconstruction, even though the entrance and towers had largely withstood the general destruction (Gjerstad et al., 401). The reconstruction is dated by the presence of White Slip I, Base-ring I and Monochrome.

27 See also Eriksson 2001, 183–184.

28 Gjerstad et al., 305, figs 119, 125, 126; Åström 1972, fig. 6:1, 5, 6.

29 Westholm 1939, fig. 1.

30 We should also note the view that what are considered to be mass burials at Ayios Iakovos (Tomb 1) and elsewhere on the island have been associated by some with the events surrounding the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Nile Delta (Sjöqvist 1940, 199).

31 Gjerstad et al., 340.

32 Gjerstad et al., 333, tomb register. White Slip II = nos 3, 4, 6, 8, 16, 19, 33, 35, 62, 69.

33 Gjerstad et al., 354, tomb register. White Slip II = nos 4, 12.

34 Webb 1992, 94–96.

35 Webb 1992, 356, plan XIII:52.

36 Webb 1992, pl. 66:1.

37 Eriksson 1993, nos 1013–1018, 1030.

38 Eriksson 1993, no. 541.

39 Eriksson 1993, nos 586–587.

40 Eriksson 1993, nos 812, 931–935

41 Åström 1972.

42 Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 2 (2nd period – second and third burials); Tomb 10A.

43 Åström 1972, 687.

44 Åström 1972, 522–523, tomb register. Another example is the discovery dated to LC IIB of Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 17, 2nd group, where we have six LH IIIA:2b vessels, but no White Slip ware at all.

45 Gjerstad et al., 518, nos 72, 75, 80, 87.

46 Gjerstad et al., 516, no. 7.

47 Gjerstad et al., 524, dromos no. 1.

48 Gjerstad et al., 1934, pl. 87:4.

49 Åström 1972, 691.

50 Gjerstad et al., 1934, 558.

51 Gjerstad et al., pls 88:1, 90.

52 Åström 1972, 692.

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## HEAD TRIP: 'HEAD OF A YOUNG CHILD' (ME. 676), CHILDHOOD, AND GENDER ON CYPRUS

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### Introduction

In 1937 Alfred Westholm of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition detailed a head fragment from Mersinaki (Inv. no. Me. 676), depicting a child, as falling into Style V A of the limestone sculptures found at the site (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The works of this style, Westholm boldly states, are marked by careful working of the entire surface while the "attitude is free and sometimes elegant".<sup>2</sup> While these stylistic elements are indeed evident in this work dating c. 380-310 BC (the Late Cypro-Classical period), these descriptive details do little to reveal anything about the cultural significance of the head. Visual analysis, comparisons to similar works from Greece and Cyprus itself, as well as salient details of the archaeology and cultural history of the region during the fourth century, raise issues about childhood, gender and religious devotion to suggest that young children's roles vis-à-vis gender was more performatively than visually constructed and negotiated.

### Description of site

Mersinaki has been characterized by its excavator as a sacred precinct.<sup>3</sup> In the summer-fall of 1930 Westholm discovered two buildings and eight



Fig. 1. Head of a Young Child. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, Inv. No. Me. 676.

pits within what he calls a temenos area.<sup>4</sup> The find spots of most of the statues were in or near the pits at the same level where remains of floor and walls of one of the buildings was unearthed, making it clear that the sculptures and structure are connected. Dating of statuary and figurines of the site comes primarily from two sources: 1) comparisons to the objects of Vouni to which the material bears likeness; and 2) several coins at the site: one with a representation of Arsinoe III; one with Aphrodite; and one with a head of Alexander the Great, that aid in determining *terminus post quem*.<sup>5</sup> These sources give a range from the Late Cypro-Archaic period (600–480 BC) to the first century BC when there is evidence of the building of a Roman house.<sup>6</sup>

### Comparisons

The aesthetic influences at work on this head appear to be an amalgamation of Vouni and Greek fourth-century and Hellenistic styles. The Athenian 'Girl with a Bird' provides just one example of physiognomy that is remarkably like that of the Mersinaki head.<sup>7</sup> Of contemporaneous Greek objects, perhaps the most like Me. 676 is 'Boy with a Pet Rabbit' from Attica that is now in the Goulandris Museum in Athens (Fig. 2). The hairstyle and general physiognomy are so strongly reminiscent of the Mersinaki head that this statue offers compelling support for the idea that the Mersinaki fragment represents a boy and will be expanded upon later. What the visual convergence between these Greek objects and the Cypriot fourth century head points to is the Cypriot admiration for Greek styles and a certain ambiguity of gender



Fig. 2. Boy with Pet Rabbit. Goulandris Foundation Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, Coll. No. 277. (Courtesy of the Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens.)

in relation to the representation of young children.<sup>8</sup>

Comparing Me. 676 to other works of the same or nearly same chronological period that represent children and are from Cyprus may further aid in clarifying the issue of gender of the child represented. The 'Temple Girl' in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection was discovered at Golgoi by Cesnola; Martin Huish donated it to the museum in 1917 (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The figure sits with her right leg bent at the knee so that her foot

rests directly on the ground; her left leg lies horizontal. She holds a bird (duck?) in her right hand and a fruit in her left.<sup>10</sup> Her facial features and hairstyle are quite similar to that of Me. 676. These characteristics, however, are not what mark her out as a girl. It is her long *chiton* with *periamma* and aegis that designate her gender.<sup>11</sup> Another reason to attribute the gender to female is that it was found at Golgoi where Aphrodite was worshipped and, hence, falls into the pattern of dedicating a votive the same sex as the deity worshipped that Connelly notes in her catalog on the Hellenistic votives of the island.<sup>12</sup>

Another Hellenistic Cypriot work



Fig. 3. Temple Girl. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Inv. No. GR.1.1917. (Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)



Fig. 4. Temple Boy. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. No. 74.51.2766.  
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

whose hairstyle bears some resemblance to Me. 676, and is similarly uncertain in terms of gender, is a temple boy that was excavated at Kourion (Fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> The authors of *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection*, assert without explanation that the seated figure "is probably a girl",<sup>14</sup> and Beer places it in "Uncertain Temple Boys" (italics Beer's) in her definitive catalog of 294 examples.<sup>15</sup> The child's tunic is the familiar shorter one worn by boys on representations of children in the ancient Mediterranean

in general and Cypriot temple boys in particular.<sup>16</sup>

In terms of purpose or use in relation to this work, Beer does not include Me. 676 in the catalog, indicating that she does not consider it to be of the temple child type of dedication; rather, that there is the implication by its absence in this catalog that the head is considered to be a general votive.<sup>17</sup> This idea is further illuminated by comparison to the British Museum's 'Head of a Child from Palaipaphos'.<sup>18</sup> Striking overlaps with

this piece include the way the hair falls on the figure's face, the Hellenizing physiognomy, and the size of the head. This latter feature is significant for the Mersinaki head, which is far larger than many of the documented temple children.

### Analysis

Visual comparisons alone, however, provide little to enlighten the viewer on the cultural significance of such representations. It is in order, therefore, to begin an interpretation of the 'Head of a Young Child' with a brief survey of the most important hypotheses about limestone votives that depict toddlers.<sup>19</sup> The critical literature displays several key trends. One, represented by Pryce's catalog of sculpture in the British Museum, would like to attribute to some of the temple boys and other images of children status as portraits of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III.<sup>20</sup> This proposition follows historical trends of the time to enunciate the rise of concern with individuality during the Hellenistic period; consequently, according to this theory, interest in individuality led to a growing demand for portraiture or items that seem to display real people.

One strong pattern is demonstrated by archaeological reports and catalogs of museum holdings. This type of literature describes the stylistic, condition, and conservation aspects of each piece and presents a brief note on the purpose for making and dedicating of these types of works. It is perhaps helpful, therefore, to begin with the remarks of Cesnola and Myres given that these scholars set the standard for years. Both Cesnola and Myres thoroughly describe

the temple boys in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Cesnola Collection.<sup>21</sup> Myres posits that the figures may be children dedicated as servants to the sanctuary or as a companion to the deity. Westholm contends that Me. 676 is the head of a "child" and follows the precedent established by the Cesnola's and Myres' guides, as do most of the museum catalogs.<sup>22</sup>

Another traditional approach in the literature is one that focuses less on description and preservation with a brief note on possible use than concentrates on the function of such votives in Cypriot cult. Of early literature on the subject, two members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition published short articles on the votive type: Erik Sjöqvist's 'A Cypriote Temple Attendant',<sup>23</sup> and Alfred Westholm's 'The Cypriote 'temple boys'.<sup>24</sup> Sjöqvist treats a head in the collection of Whitson Stanford of Princeton, New Jersey. Stanford purchased the head in New York in 1954 from an art dealer. After describing the work, Sjöqvist states emphatically: "What precisely these repulsive little figures signify is obscure, but one would be justified in interpreting them as some attendants, perhaps male prostitutes, connected with a fertility cult".<sup>25</sup> Sjöqvist's remarks seem unfair to such a work as the Medelhavsmuseet head whose upturned lips and eyes, chubby cheeks and hair gently curling at the ends connote a healthy and ideally beautiful child who is in no way revolting.

Westholm, on the other hand, writes of the "closed group" of figures while using Inv. no. K. 223<sup>26</sup> and S.N. 28.1909<sup>27</sup> as visual evidence to support his hypothesis that "the 'temple boy' statuettes may be explained as votary sculptures presented to the god, ac-

cording to a vow or a prayer for a son before childbirth".<sup>28</sup> The generalness of Westholm's suppositions could easily apply to Me. 676; the tender age represented, it seems reasonable, would reflect a timely dedication from someone who's wishes for a son were fulfilled. What these early treatments ultimately demonstrate for an inquiry of the Medelhavsmuseet head is that, as earlier enunciated, it probably should not be placed with the temple boys; indeed, it should be recognized as a votive dedication of a more general nature.

It seems fruitful to turn to historical information to fill in lacunae and discover at least some conceptual discourse for works such as Me. 676. One observes that the Late Cypro-Classical 'Head of a Young Child' fully participates stylistically in a Hellenizing koine not only practiced within the kingdoms, such as Vouni, but intensified by Alexander's arrival on the island in 333 BC and Ptolemy I's capture of it in 321 BC.<sup>29</sup> The ramifications of these facts for art objects, one can argue for Mersinaki, is that the strong correlation between this head fragment and fourth century and Hellenistic Greek objects may be a form of visual resistance to the political domination of the Persians early in the fourth century, as well as a tacit allegiance to the Greeks who were aiding the Cypriots during this same era.<sup>30</sup> The Late Classical to Hellenistic emphasis on individualism, moreover, imbues the votives of the late fourth and early third centuries in general, and this dedication in particular, with a seemingly real face that is also a mark of Greek works.<sup>31</sup>

The indeterminacy of gender evinced by the soft face of Me. 676

illuminates how boys and girls of the age depicted by 'Head of a Young Child' were treated almost identically in aesthetic terms and perhaps also in social practice. Mark Golden's study of children in Classical Athens establishes a helpful paradigm by noting that children were viewed as possessing "neutral, positive, and negative attributes" that stand in comparison to those of adult citizens.<sup>32</sup> The neutral are those shared with adults; the positive are typical of children; and the negative are facets of character that children lack in relation to adults. Golden has further documented that children up to the age of six spent most of their time with the women of the household and were cared for by the mother; or if of an elite status, by a nurse and/or pedagogue.<sup>33</sup> That even young children played important roles in ritual and cult in antiquity is in evidence as well, but often the exact features of their participation is not well known. While it must be admitted that the situation was not the same on Cyprus, it was, arguably, probably similar.

How are these cultural frameworks reflected in works of art such as the Medelhavsmuseet head? From the fragment, alone, one must conclude that this image is meant to play up the positive characteristics of childhood; that is, the chubby cheeks and expression (if one may attribute the features as possessing such) highlight the vitality of the child face/body. Of specific interest for this study, as well, is the fact that – as a dedication in a sanctuary – this piece stands as a concrete, perpetual reminder of how cult dedication was a major way for a child's family to demonstrate that child's participation in social life and

its concomitant obligations.<sup>34</sup> This in some ways explains the votives of children found on Cyprus: indications of children's participation not only in cult, but also their initiation into the kinds of roles expected of them within the family and society as adults.

Given the dearth of information about Cypriot children, it is reasonable to turn to other areas of the Mediterranean; particularly Greece, whose stylistic elements Me. 676 clearly imitates. With regard to children and cultic practice, Jennifer Neils' notation that images of children of this epoch in Greek works display children as "acolytes, bearers of sacred objects, and even as victims of human sacrifice" seems especially salient to 'Head of a Young Child' who could represent a child in service at the sanctuary.<sup>35</sup> Another manuscript that illuminates the issue of children, gender and religion that is so crucial to an understanding of this head fragment is Jon D. Mikalson's chapter 'Religion in the Greek Family and Village' in his book *Ancient Greek Religion*.<sup>36</sup> Mikalson stresses that boys held high responsibility in family, *deme* and state ritual.<sup>37</sup> Applying anthropological analogy from both Mikalson's text and that of Kyriakos Hajioannou on Cypriot religious practice with regard to children, the find context of the Mersinaki head at a sanctuary brings the researcher back to the association of the Medelhavsmuseet head fragment to the male gender, maybe

reflecting males' roles in public cult practice.<sup>38</sup>

### Final Remarks

Returning once again to gender, Sofia Nordin Fischer implicitly suggests the head represents a young girl,<sup>39</sup> by pointing the reader toward the Fitzwilliam Museum example found in Joan Breton Connelly's *Votive Sculptures of Hellenistic Cyprus*.<sup>40</sup> The head fragment of the Medelhavsmuseet, as has been confirmed, bears a striking resemblance to this work; paradoxically, it reminds one of documented boys as well. In the final analysis, there are a number of features, however, that suggest the Mersinaki head may be a boy. First and foremost is the fact that at this sanctuary the other limestone dedications are predominantly male; indeed, there are only ten clearly female figures out of 110 limestone dedications both large and small scale.<sup>41</sup> Seven pieces cannot be identified as either male or female due to their poor condition or fragmentary nature, and four are children.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, of the eight limestone sculptures of Gjerstad's Style V A, there are no females.<sup>43</sup> This group consists of six males and two children, including Me. 676.<sup>44</sup> Of less significance, but still useful in the analysis of gender with reference to this fragment, is the hairstyle: a braided piece running from forehead to crown down the center of the head. According to Jennifer Neils this coiffure "[. . .] is one worn

both by children and by the deities who protect them".<sup>45</sup> Although found on representations of girls, additionally, this coif is more often found on boys.<sup>46</sup>

Nordin Fischer notes, additionally, that a Greek inscription mentioning Apollo Lykeios (Me. 839),<sup>47</sup> a Cypriote syllabary inscription mentioning Apollo (Me. 1100),<sup>48</sup> and a cult statue of Apollo (Me. 1070)<sup>49</sup> were excavated at Mersinaki, and that the sanctuary was probably a joint one to Apollo and Athena.<sup>50</sup> Is it unreasonable to put forward that this work represents a male toddler and multivalently signifies following Hadjisteliou-Price's list that the votive (whose coif is suspiciously like that of Apollo Lykeios) was a genre representation and votary representing an ideal child companion to the god?<sup>51</sup> Moreover, while the treatment does not preclude the possibility that the votive is a girl, is it not more likely to be a boy given the common practice on Cyprus of dedicating same sex figures to deities (with the exception of votives for Aphrodite who did not have a sanctuary at Mersinaki)?<sup>52</sup> Ultimately, however, does the ambiguity not point toward larger issues of the conception of the child body as well to a notion of the rearing of children as heavily dependent on nurture over nature?<sup>53</sup> Finally, does the stone image not eternally reflect children's physical and metaphorical participation in ritual as a form of enacting gender roles?

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### NOTES

- 1 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 356, pl. 139.
- 2 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 383.
- 3 Gjerstad (1980, 138–141) presents an engaging account of the discovery of Mersinaki.
- 4 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 330–351.
- 5 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 601, 602, and 603 respectively.
- 6 Slej 2005, 29–30.
- 7 Athens National Museum, inv. no. 695.
- 8 One element of this stylistic diffusion is the hairstyle. Growing hair long, either in part – as seen on Me. 676 – or whole, many times related in Greece to rite-of-passage rituals in which a lock of hair would be cut and presented to a divinity (Thompson 1982, 157; von Gonzenbach 1957, 27–29, pl. 31).
- 9 Vassilika 1998, 94–95.
- 10 Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson 1999, 88–89.
- 11 Neils & Oakley 2003, 152.
- 12 Connelly 1988, 5.
- 13 Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2766.
- 14 Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 262.
- 15 Beer 1994, 83.
- 16 On the temple-child type in the ancient Mediterranean confer Beer 1994, 57–59, 83, 85; Ganzmann, an der Meijden & Stucky 1987, 81–130. Beer's catalog lists many similar examples, now in museums all over the world. The British Museum, the Louvre Museum, and New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art have several limestone examples contemporaneous or nearly so to the Mersinaki head that can serve as models of this type (Cesnola 1885–1903, pl. CXXXI.970, pl. CXXXI.977, pl. CXXXI.970, pl. CXXXI.978, pl. CXXXII.984; Hermary 1989, 69–111, nos. 106–128; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 230–231, 262, 268–269; Laffineur 1994, 141–148, pl. XLIII). The figures are seated, wear short locks and are clad in necklaces. Many hold gifts of birds, balls, and the like in their right hand. The match of the Medelhavsmuseet head to these figures occurs not in pose or size, but in the inclination of the head and similarity of the hairstyle. It is clear that the Medelhavsmuseet head departs from the temple boys more than compares with them; hence, while not discarding the possibility it is a temple boy, the work should perhaps more rightly be investigated within the rubric of votive dedications to deity. On children and religion see Bennett 1980, throughout; Neils & Oakley 2003, 139–161.
- 17 A point she iterated at the Medelhavsmuseet conference "Finds and Results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition: A Gender Perspective", held in Stockholm March 31–April 2, 2006.
- 18 The British Museum inv. no. 1888.11-15.1. See Leibundgut-Wieland, this volume, fig. 14a/b.
- 19 On an ancillary note, it should be noted at the outset that there is a dearth of scholarly work on representation of temple girls on Cyprus that hinders any interpretation of gender of young figures. This is no doubt because Beer (1994, 85) lists only two certain examples: Fitzwilliam Museum GR.1.1917 (Beer 1994, pl. 196:b), and Cesnola, 1885–1903, pl. CXXXI.980 (a work probably from Golgoi whose current location is unknown).
- 20 Pryce 1931, 1, n. 2, 64–68, C159–172.
- 21 Cesnola 1885–1903, pl. CXXXI, no. 957, no. 968, no. 966; Myres 1914, 188. For other museum holdings see also Hermary 1989, 69–111, nos. 106–218.
- 22 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 356; Hermary 1989, 69–111, nos. 106–218; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 230, nos. 362, 363, 364, and 268–269, nos. 432, 433; Nordin Fischer 2003, 260; and Pryce 1931, 64–68, C159–172.
- 23 Sjöqvist 1955.
- 24 Westholm 1955.
- 25 Sjöqvist 1955, 46. Beer (1985, 23) offers a much less value-laden interpretation. She proffers a compelling idea: "I believe that the significance [of drawing back the chiton to reveal the genitalia] is more directly related to the genitals themselves, which in many cases is clearly stressed by the concentric carving of the dress-folds above them. This is to say, I imagine the sexual organ of the child as being offered in the sanctuary in analogy with anatomical votives, only here the complete figure is offered, not just part of it". This statement forms the basis for the hypothesis that the votives may represent a dedication for a circumcision ritual like that found in Phoenicia (see also Ganzmann, an der Meijden & Stucky 1987, 81–130). While an intriguing proposition for the figures that display their phalloi and even perhaps for the adolescent figures, the child represented by Me. 676 seems far too young to be part of this rubric of function.
- 26 In the Medelhavsmuseet. See Gjerstad et al. 1937, 36, pl. 35:5.
- 27 In the J & M Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, FL. See Cesnola, Atlas I, pl. CXXXII.986; Beer 1994, 72, cat. no. 244, pl. 162.
- 28 Westholm 1955, 76–77. On this latter point, see also Hajioannou's (1978, 110) use of anthropological analogy.
- 29 And after the terminus ante quem of this work, Demetrios Poliorketes' seizure of the island in 306 BC, and Egyptian renewal of dominance under Ptolemy II in 295–294 BC, in addition to the continuing Phoenician influences (Connelly 1988, 1).
- 30 See Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 199; Stylianou 1989; and Wallace & Orphanides 1990.

31 See Gjerstad et al. 1937, 383, where Westholm declares that Mersinaki Style V A displays a “careful working all around with an attitude [that] is free and sometimes elegant”, thus giving rise to an idealized verism in the figures. Confer the other objects classified in this style: Me. 616+1039, Me. 619, Me. 704, Me. 706, Me. 707, Me. 1026, and Me. 1068.

32 Golden 1990, 3.

33 Neils & Oakley 2003, 139–161; Neils & Oakley 2004, 13–35.

34 Golden 1990, 41.

35 Neils & Oakley 2003, 139. See also her other remarks about children and their roles (Neils & Oakley, 2003, 133–159).

36 Mikalson 2005, 133–159.

37 Mikalson 2005, 153–156.

38 Hajioannou 1978, 103–110.

39 Nordin Fischer 2003, 260

40 Connally 1988, pl. 3:9.

41 These are numbers Me. 691, 701, 702, 764, 790, 791, 825, 1024, 1066, and 1085.

42 Me. 619, 620, 676, and 1067. Me. 620 – head missing – holds a bird; this figure is in such poor condition that it is impossible to identify its gender in any way.

43 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 383.

44 Males: Me. 616+1039, 704, 706, 707, 1026, and 1068. Children: Me. 619, 676.

45 Neils & Oakley 2003, 141. The hairstyle is often found on images of Eros and those of Apollo. On the association with Apollo see Harrison 1988, 253; Milleker 1987; Thompson 1982, 157; Vanderpool 1969, pl. 73, fig. 2.

46 What is most often found in the texts is that when a boy came of age he would dedicate his locks to Apollo; a girl about to marry might make a gift of her hair to Artemis (Eitrem 1915, 366; Harrison 1988, 247–54; Thompson 1982, 155–62; Vorster 1983).

47 Gjerstad et al. 1937, Appendix III, cat. no. 4, pl. CXLVIII, 7.

48 Gjerstad et al. 1937, Appendix IV, cat. no. 9, pl. CXLVIII, 8.

49 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 378, pl. CXI.

50 Nordin Fischer 2003, 254. Cf. Gjerstad

et al. 1937, 397.

51 On the hairstyle and association with Apollo Lykeios, see Milleker 1987.

52 Connally 1988, 5.

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# REPRESENTATIONS: FEMALE FIGURINES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY ON PROTOHISTORIC CYPRUS

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## Introduction

How can archaeologists come to better understand issues related to gender and social identity on the basis of material culture? Shared social practices – imprinted in materials such as bodily ornaments, weapons, terracottas, utensils and tools – can be actively involved in expressing social identity and gender. Symbolically and materially, representations of people, divine beings, plants, animals and much more come together in archaeological contexts that conjoin architecture, ritual imagery, belief systems and gender constructs. The abstractions and representations of prehistoric people were not separate and intangible, but rather formed an integral part of the material aspects of their everyday life.

Using a selection of Late Bronze Age Cypriot female figurines whose iconography, form and function are quite different from those of their earlier Bronze Age or Chalcolithic counterparts, I consider the link between gendered representations and social identity. Bolger recently observed that as long as we continue to insist that these figurines represent deities, we shall never be able to consider alternative interpretations.<sup>1</sup> Most Late

Bronze Age figurines are dated to the Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (ProBA 2, LC II) period; they portray nude females and other features seen on earlier examples. In this study, I focus specifically on the well-known bird-headed figurines (Type A) and their less avian (Type B) counterparts,<sup>2</sup> and consider whether these representations have anything to do with a deity rather than with other people – mothers, priestesses, dancers or celebrants – who lived and worked on protohistoric Cyprus.

## Archaeologies of gender

As a basic organising principle of society, gender has come to serve as a key focus of archaeological analysis and interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Sex and gender are fundamental to the ways that people work, dress and perform, and how they function in the family, household, social group and community. Gender also influences how people cope with authority, class, age and race; how they experience landscapes, space and place; how they make or modify their histories and construct their identities. Current archaeological research treats gender as a crucial aspect of a person's identity, and has re-conceptualised issues of sex, sexuality and the body

to examine women's and men's roles and statuses in the past. Informed by feminist theory, archaeologies of gender thus can help us to examine the material remnants of the past in their total social context, and thus to reintroduce people, their beliefs, their bodies and their sexuality – indeed their very identity – into a more coherent and reliable framework of understanding and interpretation.

How has Cypriot archaeology dealt with this wider vision of gender? Despite inauspicious beginnings, many Cypriot archaeologists have developed an abiding research interest in gender-related issues,<sup>4</sup> and there are several other areas where this interest could be developed (e.g. textile production, the role of children and the life cycle, images of women on pottery and other media). Such conferences as the one where this paper was originally presented provide an optimum venue for such undertakings.

## Gender imagery and representation

Issues related to gender imagery, representation and symbolism are no longer regarded as marginal pursuits in archaeology, nor are they prede-

terminated by the inherent nature of archaeological data. Representations of people, divinities, animals and artefacts found in archaeological contexts refer to everyday social practices, ideologies and ritual practices, gender constructs and social identity. No matter how abstract or realistic these representations of prehistoric people may seem to us, clearly they formed an integral part of the material factors of everyday life on protohistoric Cyprus.

Employing as examples several Late Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurines, in this paper I examine the links between gendered representations and social identity. Most scholars who have studied the function and meaning of these figurines presume that both the Type A and Type B figurines represent some sort of goddess (or goddesses) of fertility that was worshipped in sanctuaries, cultic buildings or even households, or else were placed in tombs as part of mortuary rituals.<sup>5</sup> Along with Bolger,<sup>6</sup> I suggest that we need to suspend such lines of interpretation in order to consider alternatives, and to see how these figurines might have figured in other, daily practices of life on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus.

The earliest, 'spindle shaped' figurines,<sup>7</sup> dated to the ProBA 1 (MC III) period, are mainly Plain Ware but also include Red Slip and Black Polished examples. On the one hand, these hearken back to certain Red Polished and White Painted plank figurines of the PreBA (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, they presage later ProBA styles and depict – in sharp contrast to the plank figurines – naked women with emphasised sexual features, hands positioned beneath the breasts, perforat-



Fig. 1. Red Polished ware 'plank' figurine with geometric patterns portraying distinctive body features and bodily ornamentation, Lapithos, Swedish Tomb 313A (PreBA 2). (Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inventory no. L. 313A:40 V. Karageorghis et al., *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet* [Nicosia, Stockholm, 2003], p. 62, no. 51 [front and back])

ed ears and tight necklaces. Most of the Late Bronze Age figurines portray nude females and other features seen on the earlier examples, and most are dated to the ProBA 2 (LC II) period.<sup>9</sup> They were manufactured in a fabric similar to Base-ring pottery, termed 'Brown ware'.<sup>10</sup>

#### ProBA female figurines

There are two basic types of figurine, Type A ('bird-faced') and Type B ('normal-faced'),<sup>11</sup> both of which are

also often dubbed 'Astarte' figurines and/or 'pubic triangle figurines'.<sup>12</sup> Although the Type A examples show stylistic affinities with Levantine Astarte figurines (e.g. naked females, hands on the body under the breasts, holding animal or floral motifs), both Merrillees and Karageorghis emphasize their wide distribution on the island and thus argue for a Cypriot origin.<sup>13</sup> Budin also acknowledges their Cypriot origin, but adds that Type A figurines "... show clear derivation

from Near Eastern images that are explicitly divine".<sup>14</sup>

The Type A figurines represent women with a small, beaked (bird-type) nose, vertically-placed ears and large ear-rings, arms placed on, below or between small pointed breasts, and genitals marked by (unpainted) incised or punctured patterns. One common variant (Type Aii or *kouroutróphos*) holds an infant.<sup>15</sup> There are 48 known examples depicted with an infant and 65 without.<sup>16</sup> Budin notes some of the continuities with various PreBA female figurines, notably in the emphasis on incised decoration, prominent nose and ears, and on earlier tendencies toward three-dimensional portrayals and emphasized sexual attributes.<sup>17</sup> The *kouroutróphos* examples find some counterparts in the plank figures of the PreBA, but Morris feels that the earlier figurines are much more individualistic.<sup>18</sup> More than one scholar has described these figurines as being very schematic,<sup>19</sup> and Karageorghis finds their manufacturing technique and decoration so similar that he feels they must have been mass produced, perhaps reflecting some common religious beliefs.<sup>20</sup>

Type B figurines have a form very similar to that of Type A, but stylistically they are quite different (Fig. 2).<sup>21</sup> Perhaps modelled more on the style of Mycenaean tau, phi and psi painted figurines than on that of Levantine statuettes,<sup>22</sup> the women are represented with triangular, flat-topped heads, pointed-down ears, painted facial features, pierced navels and occasionally painted genitals with incised or punctured patterns; only one example holds an infant.<sup>23</sup> These Type B figurines are commonly dated to the 13th century BC,<sup>24</sup> with conti-



Fig. 2. Type B, normal-faced, nude female figurine, Base-ring ware, from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 3, ProBA 2 (LC II). (Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inventory no. E. 3:184 V. Karageorghis et al., *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet* [Nicosia, Stockholm, 2003], p. 103, no. 106)

nuity on a smaller scale into the 12th and perhaps even 11th centuries BC. Webb lists 100 standing examples, 20 seated examples, and 23 fragments of uncertain variety.<sup>25</sup>

#### ProBA figurines: Context

Throughout the relevant literature, opinions on the contexts or findspots of all these figurines differ radically. Both Karageorghis and Orphanides, for example, maintain firmly that most Type A and B figurines were found in ProBA 2 (LC II) mortuary contexts.<sup>26</sup> Merrillees is less firm, and points out that all *kouroutróphos* figurines "from controlled excavations" were found in tombs, with one exception.<sup>27</sup> Begg, whose stated aim was to conduct a contextual analysis of all LC II figurines, concluded that only 11 of his Type II (= 'Astarte') whole figurines were found in mortuary contexts, whilst 16 fragmentary examples were found in settlement contexts.<sup>28</sup> Courtois also listed several examples from settlement contexts at Enkomi.<sup>29</sup> Taking a broader view, Webb pointed out that Type A and B figurines accompany less than 5% of all LC II burials.<sup>30</sup> Keswani, without distinguishing between Type A or Type B examples, lists some examples from very high status tomb groups (e.g. Enkomi tombs B67, B93, B47), others from less sumptuous burials that nonetheless contain at least some high status goods (e.g. Enkomi tomb C19).<sup>31</sup> Whilst Webb lists six examples from residual cult assemblages at Kouklia, Enkomi, Idalion and near Myrtou *Pigadhes*,<sup>32</sup> Karageorghis states that none were found on the floors of 'sanctuaries'.<sup>33</sup> On the basis of their paucity in 'ritual' contexts, Begg thought they might have been used as

personal charms,<sup>34</sup> but Webb responded that the more prominent use of these figurines in domestic contexts doesn't mean they weren't somehow related to deities "...worshipped in communal cult buildings".<sup>35</sup>

The contradictory nature of these interpretations indicates that those who have studied the figurines most closely lack any consensus on either their contextual associations or their meaning and function in Late Cypriot society. The common notion that such figurines were manufactured as mortuary goods stems in part from the overwhelming funerary bias of the Cypriot archaeological record,<sup>36</sup> and in part from the fact that most earlier, PreBA 2 (plank) figurines with good provenance were recovered from burials.<sup>37</sup> Looking at the ProBA figurines as a whole,<sup>38</sup> it seems clear that they were used and discarded in settlements, but rarely in 'ritual' contexts, and not infrequently were deposited in (sometimes very wealthy) mortuary contexts. Thus they would have been used in life as well as in death, and may be regarded – at the very least – as valued possessions of those who owned them.

### ProBA figurines: Function and meaning

As already noted, most scholars (excepting Bolger, Budin and Morris) have interpreted both Type A and Type B figurines as representing some sort of goddess (or goddesses) of fertility. In their detailed discussions and analysis of these figurines, both Webb and Budin also include the Bomford Figurine and other 13th-12th century BC nude bronze female figurines,<sup>39</sup> such as the one from Palaepaphos-*Teratsoudhia*.<sup>40</sup> Concerning the Bom-

ford Figurine, Catling's interpretation of it has proved to be central to all subsequent interpretations of these figurines as a class:<sup>41</sup>

I believe we should identify the Bomford statuette as the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. version of a long-established Cypriot female deity whose origins are ultimately to be found in the Near East. [...] In her Bronze Age manifestation, she was doubtless a goddess of fertility.

Bolger has harshly criticised such a notion, pointing out that even as the presumed consort of the illustrious Ingot God from Enkomi, she controls nothing except the possible productive output of the mines, and lacks any significant political or social position.<sup>42</sup> Budin too testily disputes the association of this female image with fertility,<sup>43</sup> as well as Morris' more secular interpretation of these figurines as sexual playthings.<sup>44</sup> In her view, we either have a divinity whose sexuality is bound up with a good harvest, or a human representation whose sexuality provides a free pass to 'Nirvana'. For Budin, the ancient goddess she believes to be represented in these figurines embodies sexuality as power and pleasure, not as maternity and fecundity.

Whether any of these figurines represents a deity, however, remains a question that demands closer consideration and more focused contextual analysis. Bolger rightly insists that it is unacceptable to use modern religious concepts when discussing prehistoric Cypriot society,<sup>45</sup> or, I might add, to see temples in every distinctive ashlar structure, or to identify gods and god-

esses in every remarkable statuette.<sup>46</sup> Instead, such figurines should be interpreted in their spatial and social contexts, and we should acknowledge that social space, political (not religious) ideology and economic structures were intimately linked in prehistoric and protohistoric societies like that of Bronze Age Cyprus.

Like Bolger and Budin, who have their own reasons for dissenting from the mainstream interpretations of these figurines, I am concerned about an uncritical assumption made by almost everyone who has examined them. This is the assumption that both Types A and B represent a goddess of fertility, whether Astarte (and her variants) in the Levantine tradition, Hathor/Isis in the Egyptian tradition, or Ishtar/Inanna in the Mesopotamian tradition. Equally, I am sceptical that she might have been a precursor to or model for the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Like Bolger, I question whether most of these figurines represent a deity at all. The Bomford statuette, along with the bronze female figurine from *Teratsoudhia*, seem somewhat exceptional, rendered as they are in a different medium, fully modelled in the round, nude and with sexual attributes somewhat less explicit than those of the terracotta figurines. Budin emphasizes the sheer sexuality of the Bomford figurine as a corrective to those who emphasise only its fertility.<sup>47</sup>

My own understanding of the Bomford figurine, however, remains firmly in the realm of the ideological rather than the sexual. Alongside the Ingot God from Enkomi, and a range of other ideological paraphernalia, I continue to believe that the Bomford statuette served as a representation

of the political elite of ProBA Cyprus, people who manipulated and legitimised their domination over copper production and exchange by adopting and using such socially charged symbols.<sup>48</sup> Whether they represent human beings or divine guardians, these striking metal figurines served as symbols of authority that helped to forge the urban expansion of the ProBA, and to establish the political position and social identity of a dominant elite class.

## Discussion

Archaeologists working on Cyprus over the past century clearly have found ProBA figurines quite difficult to analyse as a class. They have attempted to distinguish between them contextually but are unclear whether they stem primarily from households, burials or ritual compounds. Similarly, they have interpreted these figurines in diverse and inconsistent ways. One of the most coherent discussions of the figurines as a group is that of Webb;<sup>49</sup> it is likely to remain so until somebody undertakes more focused contextual and quantitative research on them. Webb concludes that, prior to LC IIIB (and the onset of the Iron Age), no ProBA terracotta female images played a significant role in public cult: "Their low incidence in LC II residual assemblages [i.e. the Type A and B figurines] suggests no more than occasional use as votives".<sup>50</sup> Because no anthropomorphic figurines of any type have been found in 'sanctuaries' thought to have been devoted to male divinities (Enkomi's Horned God and Ingot God sanctuaries), Webb feels that the use of these figurines and the rituals they depict must have been restricted to the worship of one or more female deities.<sup>51</sup>

The increasing prominence of *psi*-type figurines ('goddess with upraised arms') in LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I contexts clearly signals a change in both the iconography and function of anthropomorphic figurines. By that time, both male and female representations may have played a more integral role in social and ritual practices, as human or divine representations of people involved in music and dance performances. Both Burgh and Kolotourou have discussed representations of several sexually ambiguous dancers and musicians on ceramic and ivory objects, in relief sculpture and on seals from the Bronze and Iron Age Levant, western Asia and Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> Kolotourou discusses and illustrates tambourine and lyre players (from ProBA 3 through Cypro-Archaic 2), whose arms are extended to hold the instruments.<sup>53</sup> A shallow bronze bowl from 8th-7th century BC Idalion depicts a lyre player, a pipe player and a drummer, all similarly clothed with no apparent evidence of gender.<sup>54</sup> The drummer on this bowl, and in several of the other representations, is depicted with upraised arms, and one might suggest that such a gesture was meant to represent either drumming or clapping in a musical performance.

Current interpretations of the ProBA anthropomorphic female figurines raise more questions than answers about prehistoric gender, iconography and representational imagery. For example:

- How clearly or intentionally were these representations coded sexually?
- Who created them, and who used them?
- Did men and women see or use

- these depictions differently?
- What kinds of gender information are broadcast by the gestures, postures, dress, ornamentation, size, media and colour used in these representations?
- Were certain sexed (or unsexed) figures reserved for use in designated domestic, public or ceremonial contexts?

We should no longer think of these human representations in simple sexual terms, and certainly we should not be assuming that all of them were somehow involved in unspecified and unknown 'religious' or 'cultic' practices. Although some males are represented, most ProBA figurines depict females. A more thorough and focused analysis would almost certainly reveal hybrids or more ambiguous, third gender representations, or images that moved in and out of traditional sexual categories. In other words, the ProBA figurines may have the same kind of multiple or ambiguous genders that we see in the PreBA and in earlier prehistoric contexts.

We also need to consider these figurines' possible *performative* roles in ProBA Cyprriot society.<sup>55</sup> Certainly they were produced, used and displayed in a variety of contexts, which itself argues against any single function or use. Representations of human or divine beings can serve to reinforce, transform or call into question a whole range of ideas, strategies or rules of social and ceremonial behaviour (e.g., a female rite of passage). Because homogeneity in form does not preclude heterogeneity in meaning or practice, these figurines may also convey multiple if not contradictory messages, depending on who made

them, who viewed or used them, and who controlled their use.

### Conclusion

Given the lack of sustained research, we remain uncertain about various aspects of gender, gendered ideologies and gendered performance during the ProBA. Nonetheless, the images or individuals represented by the anthropomorphic figurines of this period must have played some role in shaping the ideology of gender in everyday life. Once we dispense with the notion that every statuette or human representation portrays a deity, these figurines might be seen as representing individual women, motherhood, feasting or other types of celebration (dancers or celebrants in a rite of passage), or possibly cultic practice (priestesses). I am still inclined to think of the bronze Bomford statuette

as a striking marker of elite female identity, one that may have served in part to legitimise elite domination over copper production and trade. Both male (Ingot God, Horned God) and female metal figurines would have served as representations of elite authority that helped to promote and support urban expansion and economic intensification during the ProBA. As a wider class, the ProBA figurines should not be analysed solely in binary terms: both males and females (the majority) are represented, and more thorough and nuanced analyses may uncover multiple or ambiguous gendered representations that defy traditional sexual categories, as is the case with PreBA figurines. Bolger's discussion of gender mutability nicely portrays the possibility of 'third gender' or 'transgendered' individuals interred in ProBA tombs at Enkomi,

Hala Sultan Tekke, Ayios Dhimitrios, Ayios Iakovos and Lapithos.<sup>56</sup>

Engendering material objects is an exercise fraught with difficulties, and the use of binary or essentialist categorisations is unlikely to enhance our understanding of prehistoric or historic societies. Nonetheless, each one of the images or individuals – human or divine – represented on ProBA figurines would have reflected and helped to shape gender ideologies, practices and performances within society, whether on an everyday, seasonal or episodic basis. Understanding the role and relevance of ProBA Cypriot coroplast art can provide crucial insights into the ways that gendered practices and social identities were formed and maintained in prehistoric and protohistoric societies.

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### NOTES

- 1 Bolger 2003, 99.
- 2 Karageorghis 1993, 21–23; Morris 1985, 166.
- 3 Most recently, for example, Cole 2005; Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005; Talalay 2005.
- 4 See various papers in Bolger & Serwint 2002; Bolger 2003.

- 5 Cf. Morris 1985; Budin 2003, 140.
- 6 Bolger 2003, 99.
- 7 Karageorghis 1999, 84–90, figs. 57–61.
- 8 Karageorghis 1991, 49–66, 170–180.
- 9 Budin 2003, 140–145, 232–241; Karageorghis 1993, 3–14; Morris 1985, 166–174.
- 10 Karageorghis & Karageorghis 2002, 271.
- 11 Karageorghis 1993, 3–13.
- 12 Morris 1985, 166.
- 13 Merrillees 1988, 55; Karageorghis 1993, 21.
- 14 Budin 2003, 140.
- 15 Karageorghis 1993, 3–10, pls. I–VII; Merrillees 1988; Morris 1985, figs. 280–287, pls. 194–198.
- 16 Webb 1999, 209, 235, n. 28.
- 17 Budin 2003, 143.
- 18 Morris 1985, 166.
- 19 E.g. Begg 1991, 11–12.
- 20 Karageorghis 1993, 1, 21.
- 21 Karageorghis 1993, 22.
- 22 Budin 2003, 145; Karageorghis & Karageorghis 2002, 272.
- 23 Karageorghis 1993, 10–13, pls. VII–X; Morris 1985, figs. 269–279, pls. 191–193.
- 24 Courtois 1984, 79–80; Webb 1999, 209–211.
- 25 Webb 1999, 256, n. 31.

26 Karageorghis 1993, 21; Orphanides 1983, 45-48; Orphanides 1991.

27 Merrillees 1988, 55.

28 Begg 1991.

29 Courtois 1984, 75-82.

30 Webb 1992, 90; Webb 1999, 211.

31 Keswani 2004, tables 5.9b-5.9d, 5.11 and 5.13.

32 Webb 1999, 211.

33 Karageorghis 1993, 21-22.

34 Begg 1991, 53.

35 Webb 1999, 211.

36 Talalay & Cullen 2002, 184.

37 Frankel & Webb 1996, 188.

38 Webb 1992, 90; Webb 1999, 211.

39 Webb 1999, 211; Budin 2003, 156-59, 215.

40 Catling 1971; Hulin 1989; Karageorghis 2002, 96, fig. 194.

41 Catling 1971, 29.

42 Bolger 2003, 97-100.

43 Budin 2002, 316.

44 Morris 1985, 166.

45 Bolger 2003, 99-100.

46 Knapp 1986; Knapp 1988; Knapp 1996.

47 Budin 2002, 319-320.

48 Knapp 1986, 4.

49 Webb 1999, 209-215.

50 Webb 1999, 215.

51 Also Karageorghis 2003, 216.

52 Burgh 2004; Kolotourou 2005.

53 Kolotourou 2005, 188-200, pls. 23.3, 24.3.

54 Markoe 1985, 171-172, 246-247 [Cy3]; Burgh 2004, 131-133.

55 Talalay 2005.

56 Bolger 2003, 175-179.

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## DEDICATED TO THE PAPHIAN GODDESS: VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF THE PAPHIAN APHRODITE AT PALAIPAPHOS

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Palaipaphos was one of the greatest religious centres of the ancient world. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the history of both the settlement and the sanctuary remained very fragmentary for a long time. As in many other regions on Cyprus, archaeological explorations began here in the 19th century. The field of ruins of the once famous sanctuary that had been the object of so much praise by ancient authors was apparently lacking in any extraordinary aspects and didn't fulfil the expectations of the researchers. Old Paphos didn't even rouse the interest of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition,<sup>1</sup> which was already conducting excavations almost everywhere else on the island and which had given archaeology on Cyprus a solid basis thanks to its precise work.

Systematical excavations were finally started in 1950 by the Kouklia Expedition of the University of St Andrews and the Liverpool Museums, to be followed since 1966 by the Swiss-German Expedition. Both expeditions worked with the same goal of reconstructing archaeologically the history, the topography and the development of the settlement and the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

The present paper focuses on the votive figures dedicated to the god-

dess of Old Paphos whom the Greeks transformed into the Greek Aphrodite. These figurines, statuettes and statues may help us to form a better idea of various aspects of the offering rites and of the goddess' cult in her most famous sanctuary.

### Palaipaphos and the sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite

Paphos is situated on the southwest coast of the island of Cyprus, some 1.5 km inland, on a flat-topped limestone hill, where today the small village of Kouklia stands. From the Late Bronze Age until Roman times the city area was significantly larger than today's village of Kouklia. With the new foundation of the harbour city of Paphos at the end of the 4th century BC, the name of the original town with the sanctuary was changed into Palaipaphos, Old Paphos, in order to avoid confusion.<sup>3</sup>

The Sanctuary of Aphrodite stood dominating on the southern edge of the hill, and it must have made a huge impression on the people coming from the coast. The Manor House of the medieval Lusignan kings, which became the Turkish *chiflik* after 1571, occupies almost the same spot and can today similarly be seen from many

directions. The buildings belonging to the sanctuary have suffered severely both from the continuous occupation of the site from the Late Bronze Age through the 20th century AD, and from the excavations of the 19th century. This explains why ancient building materials,<sup>4</sup> and sculptures,<sup>5</sup> were almost completely destroyed or taken away, and also why the archaeological levels are barely preserved.

At Old Paphos neither the Paphian goddess nor the later Aphrodite ever had a temple in the Greek-Roman style. The remains of the sanctuary show two groups of buildings; the Late Bronze Age Sanctuary I to the south, probably built around 1200 BC, and the Roman Sanctuary II to the north of it, dating to the years around AD 100.<sup>6</sup> Apart from a re-used Hellenistic capital, there are no remains from the time between these two periods. The two groups of buildings are slightly differently oriented and are joined by common stairs, so that we must suppose that the Roman Sanctuary incorporated surviving elements of the Bronze Age shrine and *temenos* that were more than 1000 years older. Both sanctuaries show a similar basic layout; a large open enclosure surrounded by halls and walls.

This general design follows the type of open court sanctuary common in the Near East.

Very little is known about the cult of the goddess. Long into the 3rd century BC, she was addressed with the neutral title of *Wanassa* (the Lady), deriving from the Mycenaean language. The names Aphrodite and Astarte are documented only from the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The king of the city was at the same time the High Priest of the goddess. In Paphos, the goddess never received an anthropomorphic cult statue – her symbol was a large conical idol made of stone, as it is told by Tacitus;<sup>7</sup> this is also confirmed by Hellenistic clay seals and Roman coins.<sup>8</sup> A large black stone in this shape was actually found on the site of the sanctuary.<sup>9</sup>

#### The votive offerings and their cultural context

Although the architectural remains do not reflect the continuity of the cult from the Late Bronze Age to Roman times, this is well attested by the figured votive offerings. Most of the finds are kept in Kouklia.

#### The Late Bronze Age

The period around 1200 BC, when the first monumental stone building was erected, is not well documented. There are only a few finds that can be interpreted as votive offerings. One of them is a small terracotta figure depicting a naked female with stylized face (Fig. 1), wide hips and arms folded under her breasts, typical of the Late Bronze Age. The remains of capitals with stepped sides and of so-called horns of consecration could have belonged to votive *stelae*.<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 1. Terracotta figurine, Late Bronze Age. H. 18.1 cm. Excavation no. KX 127. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition.)

#### The Geometric Period

Great changes dominated the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. On Cyprus these changes are attributed to the arrival of the Achaean Greeks. The city of Paphos doesn't seem to go through any significant break, but there is

archaeological evidence of some changes. A new type of figure appears in the coroplastic art of Cyprus in this period; it's the type of the 'goddess with uplifted arms', a female image already well established in the Aegean world,<sup>11</sup> that in Old Paphos will attain major importance. A few small figures of this type can probably be dated to the Geometric period – although this date cannot be supported by archaeological data from Paphos.<sup>12</sup> Other votive offerings from this period remain unknown.

#### The Archaic Period

The 7th century to the middle of the 5th century BC is a blossoming time for Paphos. In the sanctuary more and more figured offerings are documented. The dimensions of some of the votives are now half life-size to nearly life-size, which is a new format. Amongst the finds, clay figures dominate by far. Only a few stone sculptu-



Fig. 2. Head of a faience figurine, 8th - 7th century BC. H. 7.4 cm. Excavation no. TA 4931. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition.)

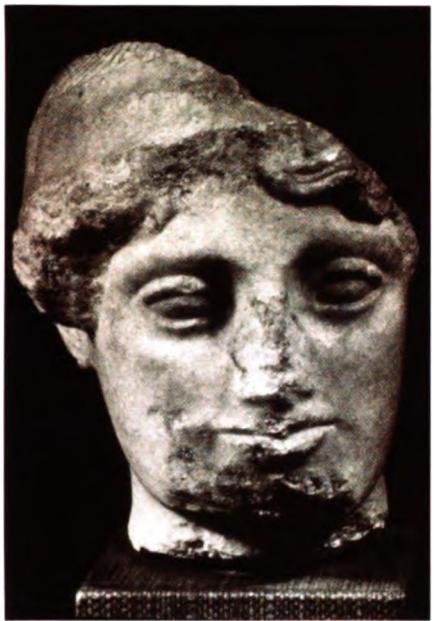


Fig. 3. Marble head, Early Classical. H. 16.2 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, G 1142. (Ashmolean Museum.)

res and figures in other materials than stone or terracotta have survived.

Most of the finds were produced locally. Two of the most interesting imported artefacts are important documents of the contacts taking place between Paphos and the East as well as the West. They are proof of the extraordinary importance of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. One of them is a charming faience head of a little statue with back-pillar in the Egyptian manner, a Phoenician product of the 8th or 7th century BC (Fig. 2). Similar little heads have been found in other large sanctuaries of female divinities on Rhodes, Samos and Crete.<sup>13</sup> The second piece is an Early Classical marble head now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup> No other similar pieces are known from Cyprus. Moreover, marble is not available on the island. Greek marble and Greek marble sculptures begin to be

imported to Cyprus only at the end of the Classical period.<sup>15</sup>

Several thousand fragments of small figures, statuettes and statues – all terracottas once painted in strong colours and dating from the Archaic to the Classical period – were found all over the sanctuary area. Two locations between the foundations of Roman buildings showed a great concentration of them; on one hand under a few rooms of a Roman Peristyle House west of Sanctuary I,<sup>16</sup> and on the other hand in the area of the north-east corner of the Roman Sanctuary II.<sup>17</sup> We therefore suppose that the Roman builders must have destroyed some *bothroi* from the 5th or 4th century.

While the archaeological context doesn't allow any conclusion about the place where the figures originally stood, there are other kinds of useful indications: 1. The figures have been strictly made for a frontal view; neither the back of the torso or of the head, nor the back of the arms or of the hands were modelled or painted. The carefully modelled and painted front of the figures ends with the trimming of the dress on the side; 2. The places where votive figures were found in other Cypro-Archaic sanctuaries also give us an idea about where the figures originally stood; the sanctuary of Ayia Irini offers the best example.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore possible to imagine that our terracotta figures once stood crowded together, either around an altar, as in Ayia Irini, or along a procession path or wall in the court.<sup>19</sup>

Both large and small figures were mostly formed by hand, although the use of moulds was known at the time. The hollow large and medium size

statues depict – with only two exceptions<sup>20</sup> – a female figure. Furthermore, the iconographical repertoire is very limited; almost all fragments of hands and arms correspond to the type of the 'goddess with uplifted arms'. A few differently shaped fragments lead us to suppose the existence of other iconographical types that are uncertain or impossible to reconstruct. A larger right hand, for instance, belongs probably to the type of the dressed female figure that is holding one hand under one of her breasts.<sup>21</sup>

The small solid figurines document a somewhat richer repertoire. Also here the 'goddess with uplifted arms' dominates by far. Of outstanding interest is the observation that there is no evidence for naked female figurines shaped with a mould, which derived from Syrian-Phoenician types and are found on many sites on Cyprus.<sup>22</sup> It is also noteworthy, that nudity as one expression of sexuality and fertility does not seem to have been a theme in the Sanctuary of the Great Goddess of Old Paphos during the Archaic period. Also the theme of bringing offerings, typical of votive figures, is barely documented.<sup>23</sup>

The large-scale statues of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' had a high representative character and were of good workmanship. Unfortunately, complete statues are not preserved, but the fragments of heads, hands and cylindrical bodies indicate that these figures reached a height from about 70/80 cm to nearly life-size (Fig. 4 and 5). The simpler middle-sized terracottas reach a height that goes from 25 to about 50 cm (Fig. 6). Usually their hands have the shape of a mitten-fist.

All Paphian female figures wear



Fig. 4. Graphic reconstruction of a large scale statue of the 'goddess with uplifted arms'. (Drawing by the author.)



Fig. 5. Reconstruction of a large scale statue of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' with fragments of various figures, Archaic. H. fragment of the right hand with wrist (excavation no. TA 3165): 16 cm. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 6. Middle-sized terracotta figure of the 'goddess with uplifted arms', Archaic. H. 23.5 cm. Excavation no. KC 417. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)

their hair at shoulder length and a long, straight pillar-like dress, sometimes with long sleeves, sometimes without sleeves. Sometimes an arched line on the belly sketches the hem of a small cape (*himation*) or an overfall (*apoptygma*). The dress is often red. Black and white lines hem the neckline, the openings for the arms, and the seam on the shoulders and along the sides; the same black and white lines can also sometimes mark the lower hem of the dress. Some

large terracottas show a varied pattern made of stripes, ribbons, lines triangles and squares (Fig. 7).

The rich jewellery is often coloured in yellow, which gives the dress a festive appearance. The female figures in the bigger scale wear a diadem with plastic or painted ornaments as well as earrings (Fig. 8) (perhaps in a few exceptions also the so-called ear caps), a necklace made of one or multiple strands of beads (Fig. 9 and 10), and a long chain, ribbon or cord with a pendant falling on the chest (Fig. 11). Broad and thin bracelets or spiral bands decorate forearms and wrists (Fig. 12). Plastic nose rings and finger rings are quite scarce. The small figurines often wear a high *polos* and simple painted jewellery.



Fig. 7. Fragment of a large female terracotta head with hair falling in plaits on the right shoulder, with necklace and painted dress pattern, Archaic. H. 9 cm. Excavation no. TA 621. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 8. Fragment of a large female terracotta head with plain diadem and earrings, Archaic. H. 10.8 cm. Excavation no. KC 906. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 9. Fragment of a large female terracotta head with hair falling on the left shoulder and necklace, Archaic. H. 9.7 cm. Excavation no. TA 4272. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 10. Fragment of the upper body of a middle-sized terracotta figure of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' with necklace with *bukranion*, Archaic. H. 9.6 cm. Excavation no. KC 418. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 11. Fragment of the body of a large female terracotta figure with pendant falling on the chest, Archaic. H. 9.5 cm. Excavation no. KC 3268A/596. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)



Fig. 12. Fragment of the right hand with wrist of a large scale terracotta figure of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' with broad spiral bracelet, Archaic. H. 15 cm. Excavation no. TA 4078. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)

As far as their style is concerned, the Paphian figures show a strong local character. Compared to the Archaic terracottas from central or eastern Cyprus, or from the Samian Heraion, the smooth modelling of face and hair, without any graphic ornaments, is typical for the large terracotta figures of Paphos. External influences are rare and were assimilated only in the course of the late 6th century BC. This proves that Old Paphos as the centre of the southwestern region of the island had developed its own coroplastie tradition.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, iconographi-

cally the terracotta figures combine motifs coming from various cultures from the eastern Mediterranean: from the Aegean as well as from the Near East and Egypt. Again, let us consider the figures of the dressed 'goddess with uplifted arms', the prevalent figure type in Palaipaphos: they belong to an old iconographical type that is documented in the Aegean world since the late Bronze Age.<sup>25</sup> On Cyprus this type was in use from the 11th to the 5th century BC. Small figurines with uplifted arms were offered in many places of worship on Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> But only in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Old Paphos did the type become dominant, especially as far as the large-scale clay statues and statuettes are concerned. Few large or medium-sized examples were found outside the Paphos area and none is known from outside the island of Cyprus.<sup>27</sup> The large or medium-sized figures of this type must therefore have been strongly connected with the goddess worshipped in Paphos.

Some motifs of the Paphian type of the 'goddess with uplifted arms', however, reflect the assimilation of elements that originated from the Near East and Egypt. They reached the island through its close contacts with the Phoenicians and were then shaped into a canon of its own. Some examples are the elegant, rich jewelry, as is often worn by young naked goddesses of the Near East, or the hairstyle reminiscent of 'the lady at the window' or of the heads of the Egyptian goddess Hathor as we know them from capitals.

In Paphos it seems that the figure type was barely changed during the course of several generations, so that we must suppose that formally as

well as stylistically it had been clearly defined. This indicates that there must have been precise offering rites. Maybe they were connected with a specific regularly occurring festival.

Many factors lead us to think that the large statues with uplifted arms depict the Paphian goddess herself: 1. The terracotta materials found on the ground of the sanctuary are so homogenous that there is no space for even minimal differences regarding dress, jewellery, accessories or gesture of the figures, which would instead speak for an identification as mortal donors; 2. The yellow jewellery is standard, and the red of the dress is often abundant. Ancient sources mention gold and purple as important attributes of Aphrodite, as well as of Astarte; 3. The gesture of majestically uplifted arms that announce the appearance, the epiphany of the goddess.<sup>28</sup>

Maybe it was the appearance of the powerful goddess that played a central role during a festival procession. Maybe during this procession a large terracotta statue of the goddess was carried around before it became an official votive gift from the celebrating people.<sup>29</sup> The small and cheap figurines of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' were on the other hand private donations and reflect the devoutness of the people. As votive offerings they were not exclusively conceived for the goddess worshipped in Old Paphos.

The Roman historian Strabo tells us of an annual Aphrodite festival that must have included a procession from Nea Paphos to Palaipaphos.<sup>30</sup> This tradition might have been much older. Archaeological evidence of places where cult rituals were performed, or that were used as sacred

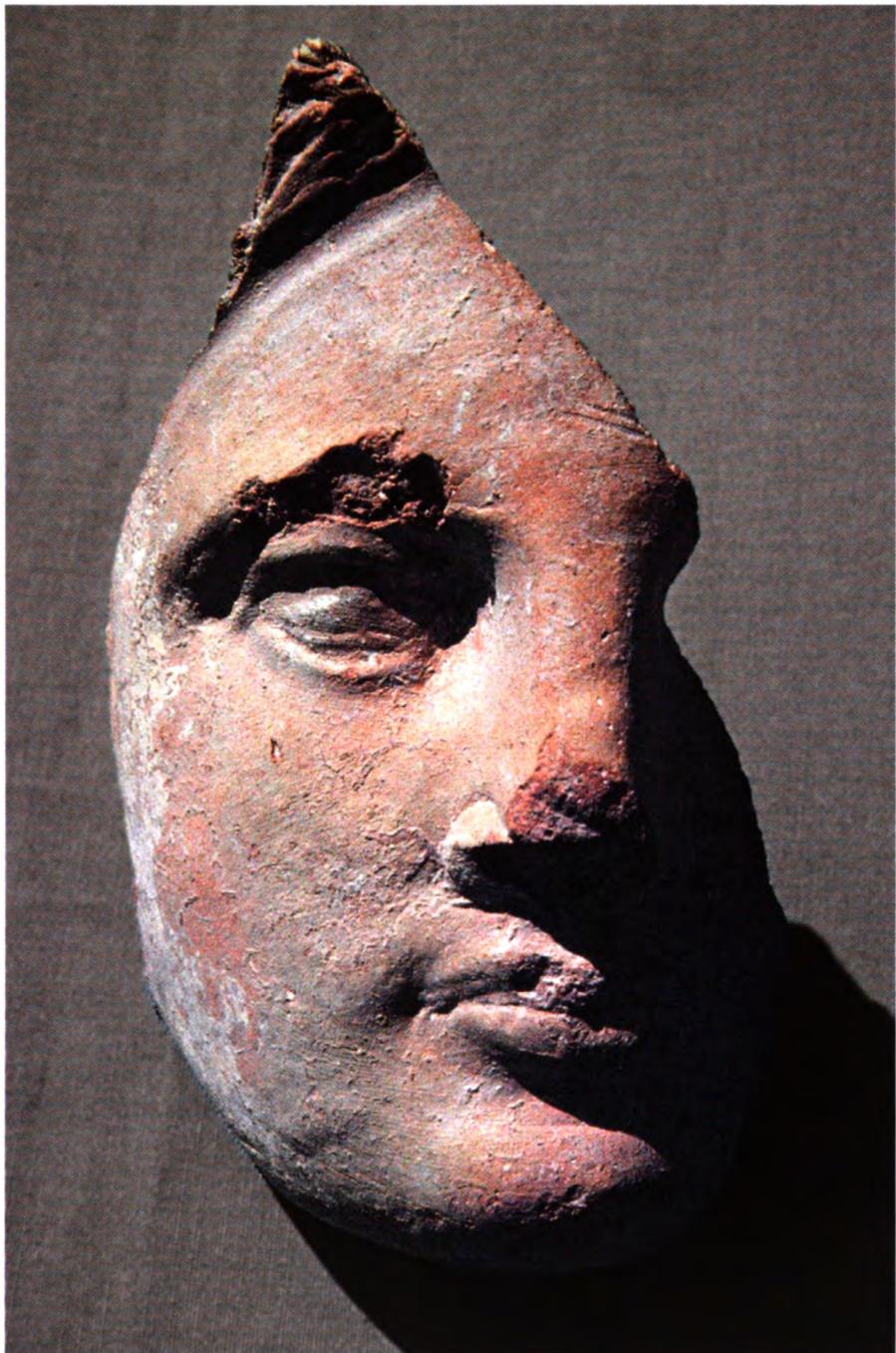


Fig. 13. Fragment of a large female terracotta head, Classical. H. 16.1 cm. Excavation no. KC 813. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition.)

gardens that probably bordered on a sacred road, has been found at various sites between the region of the later Nea Paphos and the famous Sanctuary of the goddess: for instance at *Yeroskipos-Monagri* or at *Mandria*, where fragments of the 'goddess with uplifted arms' were identified among other finds.<sup>31</sup>

#### *The Classical Period*

Decidedly fewer fragments of large-scale clay figures date to the late 5<sup>th</sup> and to the 4th century BC. It is a fact that the 'goddess with uplifted arms' has disappeared and has not been replaced with another figure type. As far as the style of the figures is concerned, both terracottas and sculptures have been increasingly influenced by Greek taste (Fig. 13).

An exceptional piece dating to the 4th century BC, and probably manufactured in Greece, is the marble head of a small child (Fig. 14a and b), which today is kept in the British Museum in London.<sup>32</sup> The head might have belonged to a crouching child, to a so-called temple boy.<sup>33</sup> If this interpretation were correct it would then be the first example of this sculptural type in Old Paphos. At the same time, the head introduces a new figure theme in Paphos – the child. Children's heads of marble and of similar fine quality are known in Cyprus only from Amathous, Kourion and Nea Paphos (?).<sup>34</sup> A comparable limestone head of a child of excellent quality was found at Mersinaki, and is now in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm.<sup>35</sup>

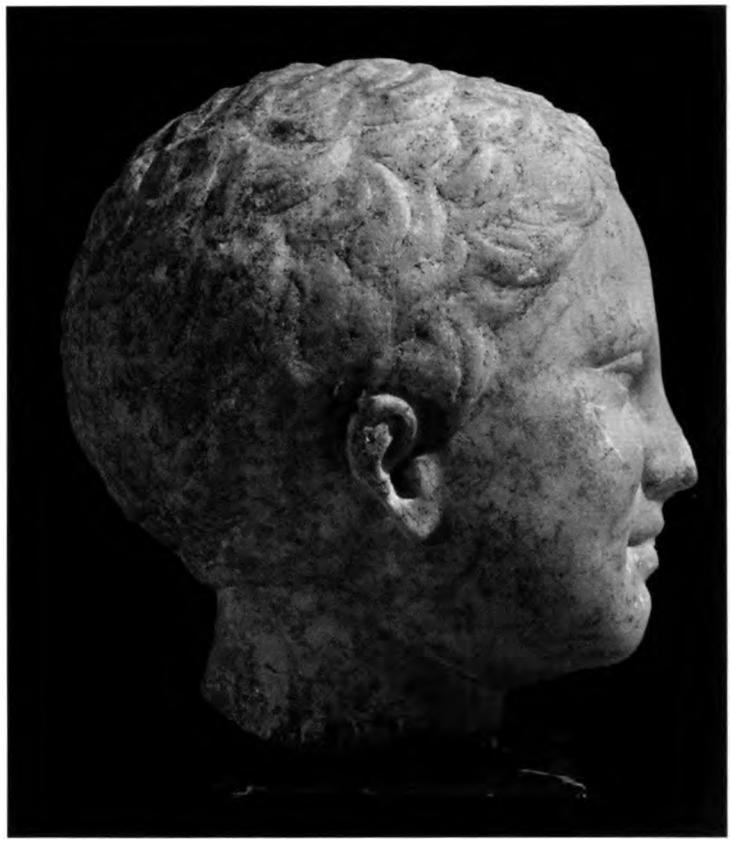
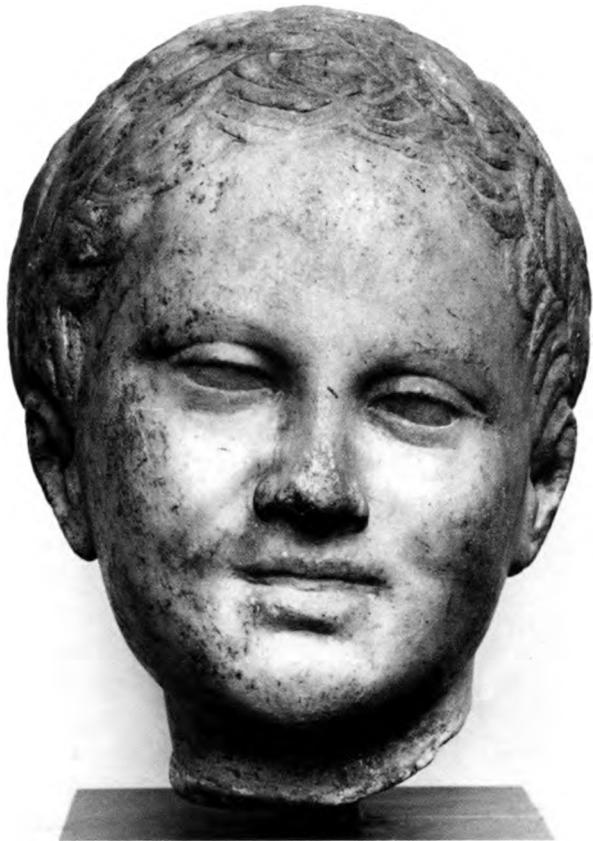


Fig. 14a/b. Marble head of a young child, 4th century BC. H. 18.2 cm. The British Museum, London, 1888.11-15.1. (The Trustees of the British Museum.)

#### *Hellenistic and Roman times*

The integration of Cyprus into the Ptolemaic Kingdom finally enabled Greek goods as well as Greek taste and style to reach the sanctuaries on the island. This is reflected also by the materials found in Old Paphos. Although votive offerings dating to the Hellenistic and Roman times are surprisingly scarce in the Paphian Sanctuary, there is enough evidence that leads us to think that the inventory of the offerings remained rich whilst becoming more and more similar to the ones present in other Hellenistic centres. Not for nothing, Tacitus reported with regard to the visit of the hereditary prince Titus to

the Paphian Sanctuary: “*Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum...*”<sup>36</sup>

Because of the fragmentary state and the limited quantity of the votive figures dating to this time span we can hardly define the iconographical repertoire. There are fragments of male as well as of female figures, and a few fragments document the existence of statuettes of children and youths. With very few exceptions – amongst them a little naked terracotta figurine of the type of the ‘Aphrodite of Knidos’ – no other fragment can be connected with one of the figure types otherwise common in the representations of Aphrodite in Hellenistic and Roman times.

No Hellenistic or Roman large-scale terracottas have been found, whereas small figures still seem to have been offered even though they are less numerous than before. On the other hand the import of marble figures increased more and more. Under the influence of the major sculpture schools, the local products made of limestone became increasingly part of the Hellenistic *koine*. This is shown by a male draped statuette (Fig. 15) that follows the popular type of the public statue of Sophocles. Nevertheless, the Paphian statues visibly maintain a certain local Cypriot style well into the Roman period. Of special interest is a gilded bronze pin with



Fig. 15. Torso of a draped male limestone statuette, Hellenistic or Roman. H. 12.5 cm. Excavation no. TA 4837. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)

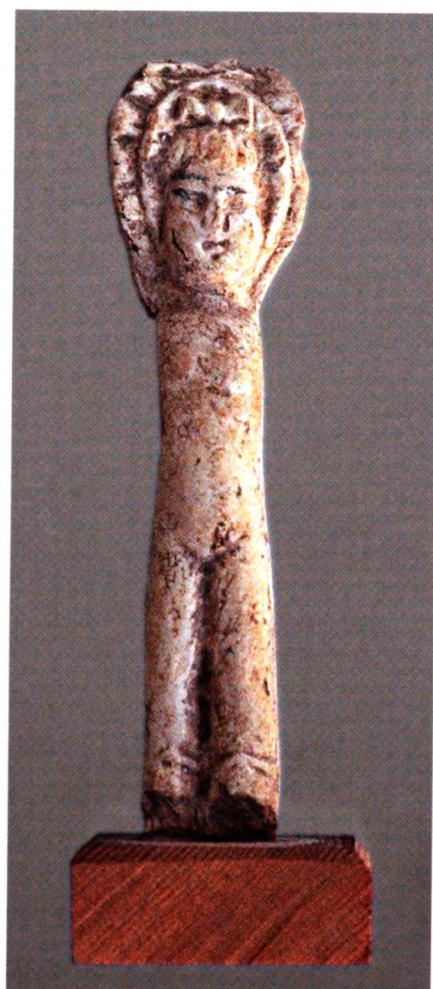


Fig. 16. Small bone or ivory (?) figurine of a naked girl, 2nd-3rd century AD. H. 7.2 cm. Excavation no. TA 4886. Kouklia Museum. (Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition, M.-L. von Wartburg.)

a head of excellent workmanship.<sup>37</sup> *Eubola* dedicated this votive gift to the Paphian goddess, now under the name of Aphrodite, as we can read on the shaft of the pin: “*Eubola, wife of the Ptolemaic courtier Anatos, vowed this to Aphrodite*”.

According to the many inscribed bases, marble or bronze statues and portraits of members of the ruling

class of the Ptolemaic royal family as well as of public officers or of important citizens, and later of members of the Roman imperial family, must have stood in the sanctuary.

It is not possible to date with precision the final destruction of the Paphian Sanctuary. In AD 391, when all pagan religions were outlawed, the famous cult of the goddess Aphrodite

in Old Paphos must also have come to an end. The small bone or ivory figure of a naked girl (Fig. 16) could be one of the latest votive offerings to the goddess from this period.<sup>38</sup> The figurine originally had arms that moved and was part of a stick, a clothespin or of a spindle.

#### Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to Maria Luisa Brooke-Bonzanigo who translated the original presentation of this paper and edited the English text for the publication.

#### NOTES

- 1 A. Westholm (1933) visited Kouklia and published his impressions in an essay. He suggested that the visible remains did not belong to the main buildings of the famous sanctuary. He compared the situation in Kouklia with the complex layout of other Cypriot and Near Eastern sanctuaries, but he did not express the intention to excavate in Kouklia.
- 2 For the archaeological research in Palaipaphos, see Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 15–19; Maier 1997; Maier 2001. Preliminary reports on the work of the Swiss-German expedition appear regularly in RDAC and AA.
- 3 For the history of Palaipaphos, see Maier & Karageorghis 1984; Maier 1985.
- 4 During the Middle Ages, for example, they were used for buildings related to the cane-sugar refinery, which were built on the sanctuary site.
- 5 Most of the marble sculptures must

have perished in lime kilns like the one discovered in the southwestern corner of the North Hall of the Roman Sanctuary II, see Maier & von Wartburg 1998, 126.

- 6 For a more detailed description and analysis of the architecture, see Maier 1976; Maier 1979; Maier 2000.
- 7 Tac. *Hist.* 2.3.
- 8 Maier 1976, 220–225, figs. 2–4; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 84, figs. 65–67. Greek written sources do not mention any aniconical representation of Aphrodite. Paphos has the only known example. In the oriental cult of Astarte, on the other hand, aniconical cult objects of the goddess Astarte are known, see e.g. Stucky 1993, 21–22.
- 9 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 99–100, fig. 83.
- 10 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 100–101, figs. 84–85.
- 11 See below n. 25.
- 12 Karageorghis 1993a, 58–61, 82–86, pls. 27, 36–37; Maier 1999, 81; Vandenabele 1991, 57–59. For the earliest figures on Cyprus see the results of the excavation at Kition-Kathari: Karageorghis & Demas 1985, e.g. 243 (Temple 4: floor I), 244 (Temple 5: between floor I and II), 246–247 (Temenos A: floor I and Bothros 2). Only one figurine with uplifted arms came to light from a CG III-CA I tomb of the cemetery

of Palaipaphos-Skales: Karageorghis 1983, 139, tomb 62, object no. 50, pl. 99.

- 13 Webb 1978, 102–103, viii), nos. 628–637, pls. 15–16.
- 14 Inv. no. G 1142. Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 181, fig. 170.
- 15 Connolly 1988, 2–3; Connolly 1991, 96.
- 16 For a preliminary plan, see Iliffe & Mitford 1952, 44, fig. 8. The Peristyle House west of Sanctuary I was built in the 1st century AD and remodeled in Late Roman times (Maier 1980, 504–507).
- 17 For a plan, see Maier & von Wartburg 1998, 126, fig. 38; 128, fig. 43; Maier 2004, 40, fig. 23.
- 18 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 642–824.
- 19 Senff 1993, 16–19, 82–84.
- 20 1) Head of a middle-sized male figure with beard (excavation no. KC 443, now in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. no. A.1987.368.1198): Karageorghis 1993b, 65, no. 217, pl. 44; 2) Head of a middle-sized figure of a youth (excavation no. KC 746, Kouklia Museum): Leibundgut Wieland 2003, 162, fig. 4.
- 21 Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 63, no. 12, fig. 6 (excavation no. KC 62, now in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. no. A.1987.368.1168). This iconographical type, a version of the type of the naked woman holding

one hand under one breast, is seldom represented, cf. Karageorghis 1993b, 55, no. 166, pl. 37; 70, no. 245, pl. 49; Karageorghis 1999, 138–144, nos. 24–39, pls. 36–37.

22 For the various types of moulded naked figurines found on Cyprus, see Karageorghis 1999. A first naked female statuette, a Phoenician faience figurine with Egyptianizing traits of the 8th or 7th century BC, came to light during the excavation of 2007 (excavation no. TA 499.4, Kouklia Museum).

23 Small trees in terracotta seem to be a speciality of Old Paphos. There are more than 40 fragments from Old Paphos as well as other examples from Yeroskipou-Monagri. Terracotta trees are extremely rare in other sanctuaries on the island. I am grateful for this indication to L. Frey-Asche who is preparing the publication of the small terracotta figurines of the Paphian Sanctuary.

24 Caubet & Yon 1991; Caubet 1991. Only a few examples seem to have been imported.

25 For the 'goddesses with uplifted arms' in Crete, see Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1985, 47–49; Marinatos 1993, 221–229; Marinatos 2000, 110–129. For the Mycenaean figurines of the  $\Psi$  type, see French 1971; for the larger figures, see Gesell 1985, 48. In the Aegean world the type had become less and less fashionable during the Geometric period, and the contexts of this figure type were, for the most part, funerary, cf. Marinatos 2000, 119–225; Kourou 2002. After a slight revival in the Archaic period (e.g. in Lemnos: Kourou 2000, 27–28), it is during the Classical period that the gesture becomes somewhat extraordinary and rather antiquated. The most recent examples known to me date to around 400 BC and can be seen on red-figure vases that show the goddess Chryse in the open air, cf. LIMC III (1986), 279–281, s. v. Chryse I. (H. Froning), or Aphrodite as an antiquated cult statue, cf. LIMC II (1984), 2–151, s. v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias in collaboration with G. Berger-Doer, A. Kossatz-Deissmann), especially 13–14, chapter III.A.1c, nos. 48 and 52 (?).

26 Karageorghis, J. 1977, 123–147, 200; Karageorghis, V. 1977; Karageorghis 2005.

27 Published large or medium-sized figures of this type found elsewhere on Cyprus; Ajia Irini: Gjerstad et al. 1935, 759, no. 2316, pl. 236 (Late Geometric); Hagios Theodoros (?): Karageorghis 1993b, 70, no. 242, pl. 48 (Archaic); Vouni: Gjerstad et al. 1937, 234, no. 88, pl. 78 (Archaic); Arsos: Karageorghis 1998, 36, no. 8, pl. 22; provenance unknown: Karageorghis 1993b, 71, no. 257, pl. 51 (Archaic).

28 Even though the gesture of the majestically uplifted arms might contain a blessing or greeting, it doesn't express any pleading, contrary to what has been proposed in the past, Leibundgut Wieland 2003, 169; cf. also Budin 2003, 55. On the concept of epiphany: RE Suppl. IV (1924), 277–323, s. v., Epiphanie (F. Pfister). On the phenomenon of epiphany: Matz 1958; Hägg 1986, especially 41–47.

29 Processions during which a statue of Astarte was carried around are known from the Bronze Age Ugarit (cf. Cornelius & Niehr 2004, 62). Maybe also the 'goddess with uplifted arms' on a chariot depicted on an Early Geometric urn from Crete alludes to the way representations of the gods were carried in processions – even though the scene depicted on the vase has rather to do with a funeral procession (Coldstream 1984, 96, fig. 1; 98, fig. 2). I am grateful to Ch. Uehlinger for the indication about the urn from Crete.

30 Strab. 14.6.3.

31 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 271; Karageorghis 2005, 54, 59–60; Karageorghis 1993b, 70–71; Karageorghis 1998, 9–13, 15–16.

32 Inv. no. 1888.11–15.1. Gardner et al. 1888, 164, 218–220, no. 4, pl. 10; Hermay 1983, 295, figs. 9–10; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 241, fig. 222.

33 Although Beer (1987, 21, n. 1) has limited the term to the Cypriot examples, we are of the opinion that the type is sufficiently standardized to allow a wider use of this definition, cf. also Hadzisteliou-Price 1969; Stucky 1993, 32–34, 83–89, nos. 98–136 ('Temple Boys'), 97–99, nos. 183–192 ('Temple Girls'). The Cypriot examples are often of simple workmanship and usually made of local limestone and sometimes of terracotta.

34 Hermay 1983; Hermay 2000, 158, no. 999.

35 Inv. no. Me. 676. Karageorghis et al. 2003, 260, no. 298. Cf. also D. Gilby (in this volume).

36 Tac. *Hist.* 2.4.

37 The British Museum, London, Inv. no. 1888.11–15.2. Marshall 1911, 223, no. 1999, pl. 39; Mitford 1961, 41, no. 112; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 241, fig. 223.

38 For similar figurines, see van Ingen 1939, 40–46, 340–350, nos. 1591–1635, pls. 83–87; Elderkin 1930, figs. 23, 24a, 25–26; Fink & Asamer 1997, 14, fig. 16 (Rome, Coemeterium Jordanorum ad S. Alexandrum); Keel & Schroer 2004, 256–257, no. 235.

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Archäologischer Anzeiger

BCH

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BICS

Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BSA

The Annual of the British School at Athens

JHS

The Journal of Hellenic Studies

LIMC

Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae

RDAC

Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus

RE

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## A PROPOS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIC STONE PLANK FIGURE OF ECIII-MCI

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### Introduction

The figure presented in this paper first appeared in publication in J. Thimme's catalogue of an exhibition of Cycladic art in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976 (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, D. Morris included it as a Cypriote artefact and added a

drawing of it in the catalogue of his own collection in 1985.<sup>2</sup> Morris refers to it as "the final and purest variation of the category of Cypriote Plank figures, having the head, neck and body of roughly the same width, so that the general outline of the flattened form is that of an almost blank long slab".<sup>3</sup>

Morris classes it as one of three known EC-MC slab figures without faces (the other two are made of terracotta and alabaster), while also mentioning that it is made of limestone, that its height is 60.3 cm and that it is now in an unknown Swiss Collection.<sup>4</sup>

Morris identified the two small projections as the figure's arms and the two drilled holes on either side of the rectangular head as its ears (the holes being holes for earrings) (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Disagreeing with Merrillees, who had identified the holes in 1980 as eyes,<sup>6</sup> Morris argues that they "are too far apart for eyes and seem to be another case of providing apertures for some important ritual objects, such as gold earrings", suggesting that the figure was decorated in some special way for a specific event. Morris who, as we know, was fascinated by Cypriote art, then notes that we are dealing here with "a remarkable purification of the human image on the part of the Cypriote artist".<sup>7</sup>

While preparing my paper on seven closely related EC-MC anthropomorphic stone plank figures some time ago,<sup>8</sup> the Swiss figure was on my mind as it provides such a close parallel. One day I happened to trace



Fig. 1. Front view of stone plank-shaped figure. Max. ht. 60.3 cm; max. width 19 cm. Private collection, Zürich.



Fig. 2. Upper part of stone plank-shaped figure; head-neck with drilled holes for earrings and 'arms'. Private collection, Zürich.

its whereabouts by sheer chance. After having contacted the owners, they not only invited me to come and see it, but they also allowed me to publish it (albeit anonymously). Although the subject of several notices since,<sup>9</sup> the Swiss figure has never been properly presented. The aim of this paper is to incorporate it into the wider corpus of Cypriot Bronze Age art, as closely as the comparative archaeological evidence allows. Furthermore, I would like to introduce new insights related to its possible function and meaning.

#### Description

Fig. 3a-b.

Tall plank-shaped figure of plain rectangular shape with a so-called

head-neck; flat surface, with the edges and corners rounded. On either side, half way up the head-neck, a drilled hole, one slightly larger than the other. On either side of the upper torso a stump-shaped arm. Slight *entasis* on the right side of the frontal body; seen in profile, the figure bends slightly backwards; slightly rounded base.

Maximum height 60.3 cm; width without arms 15.5 cm; with arms 19 cm.

Fig. 4a-b.

Made of rather hard buff-coloured chalk. Traces of brownish-black paint all over but especially on frontal upper head, which also shows a horizontal solid band; similar traces on

lower right side of frontal body and a horizontal wavy line above its base. Remains of painted rosettes near left arm stump. Small triangular dimple as vulva. On back body dots on upper right part of head, a pair of oblique lines on upper left part of head and solid traces of long hair strands(?) falling to the lower part of the body. Surface somewhat pitted and scratched. Two more or less parallel restored cracks extending from below left ear to below right arm stump on frontal body, also visible in reverse on back side where they are overfilled with plaster. Multiple longitudinal traces of a metal tool, apparently used to finish surface before paint was applied; some encrustation.

#### Discussion

Stone sculptures from Bronze Age Cyprus are rather rare. The name 'plank figure' is given to a number

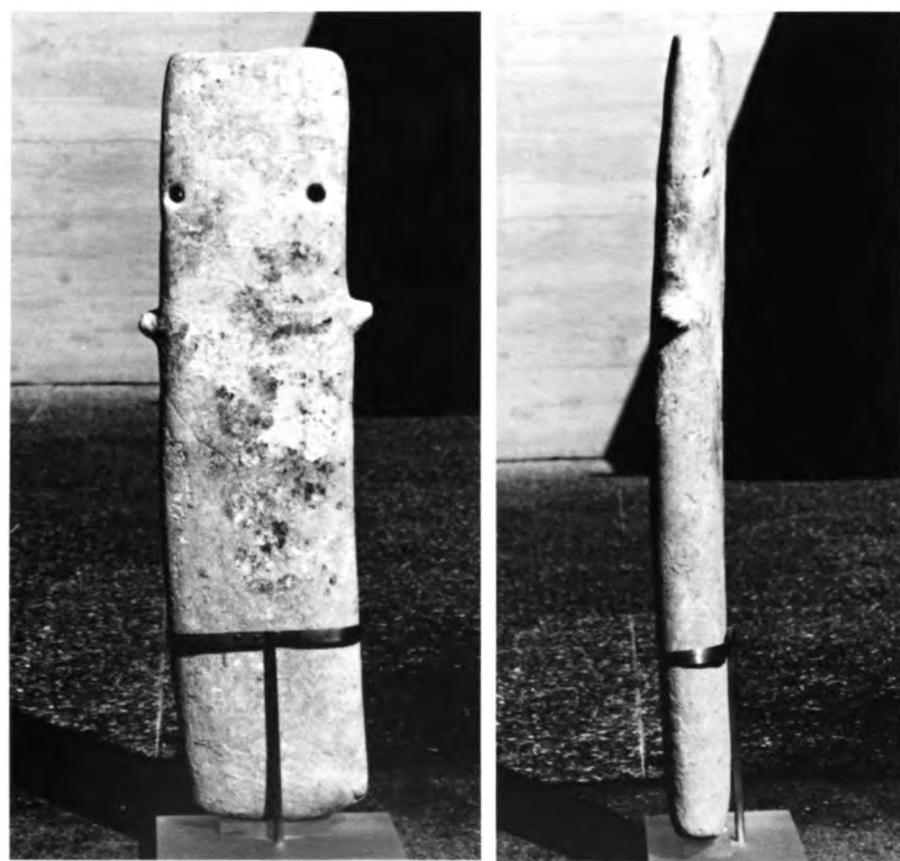


Fig. 3a-b. Rear and side views of stone plank-shaped figure.

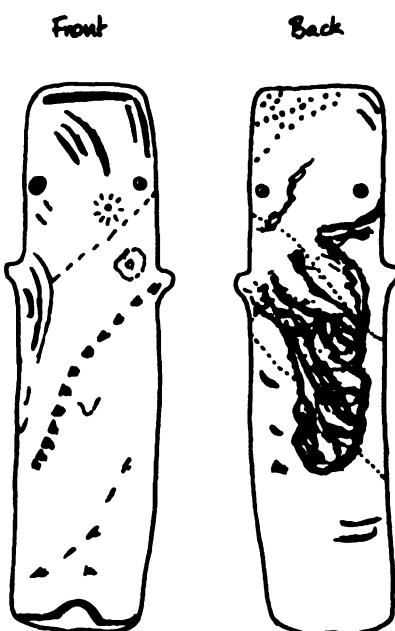


Fig. 4a-b. Drawing of the front and rear of stone plank-shaped figure.

of anthropomorphic figurines with a rectangular plank-like shape, mostly made of terracotta. Of the extant stone examples, neither the flat body nor the head show sexual or plastic facial details. The Swiss free-standing figure, with its small triangular dimple as vulva suggesting that it is to be identified as female, and the anthropomorphic figure depicted in low-relief in Tomb 6 at *Karmi-Palealona*, considered to represent a male,<sup>10</sup> are exceptions. Some of these figures have pierced ears, some show faint traces of red and black painted face marks and incisions; one is decorated in low relief.<sup>11</sup> They occur from the final phase of the EC period to some time in the early MC period: in other words roughly between 2000–1800 BC.

The corpus of these freestanding stone plank figures comprises of fourteen examples, only five of which have been scientifically excavated.

The latter include:

- Two from Tomb 2 at *Bellapais-Vounous*, now in the Cyprus Museum (25 and 22 cm high, respectively). They were found lying end to end in the burial chamber surrounded by other grave goods.<sup>12</sup>
- Two from *Lapithos-Vrysou Barba*, Tomb 322D, now lost. The height of the fragmentary example is unknown. The height of the other one, referred to as an “oblong menhir”, was 70.4 cm. Both figures were found on the floor of the chamber.<sup>13</sup>
- A unique anthropomorphic bas-relief in the dromos of Tomb 6 at *Karmi-Palealona*, possibly still *in situ*. This figure, carved into the rock, is 116 cm high and is identified as a male by Merrillees.<sup>14</sup>
- An alabaster figure in a private collection in Marbella, Spain (Ht. 18.8 cm).<sup>15</sup>
- Seven examples in the Zintilis Collection, which are currently in the Museum of Cycladic Art of the N.P. Goulandris Foundation in Athens (Ht. between 81 and 16 cm).<sup>16</sup>
- The figure presented in this paper, now in a private collection in

Zürich (Ht. 60.3 cm). Because of the small triangular dimple vulva, there seems little doubt that it depicts a female.

The following is largely based upon an analysis of the seven examples in the Zintilis Collection, one of which provides a close parallel for the Swiss figure (Fig. 5). Of key importance is the fact that, although the Zintilis



Fig. 5a-b. Similar stone plank-shaped figure in the T.N. Zintilis Collection, now at the N.P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens; ht. 61 cm; note the drilled pair of holes for earrings at either side of the head-neck.

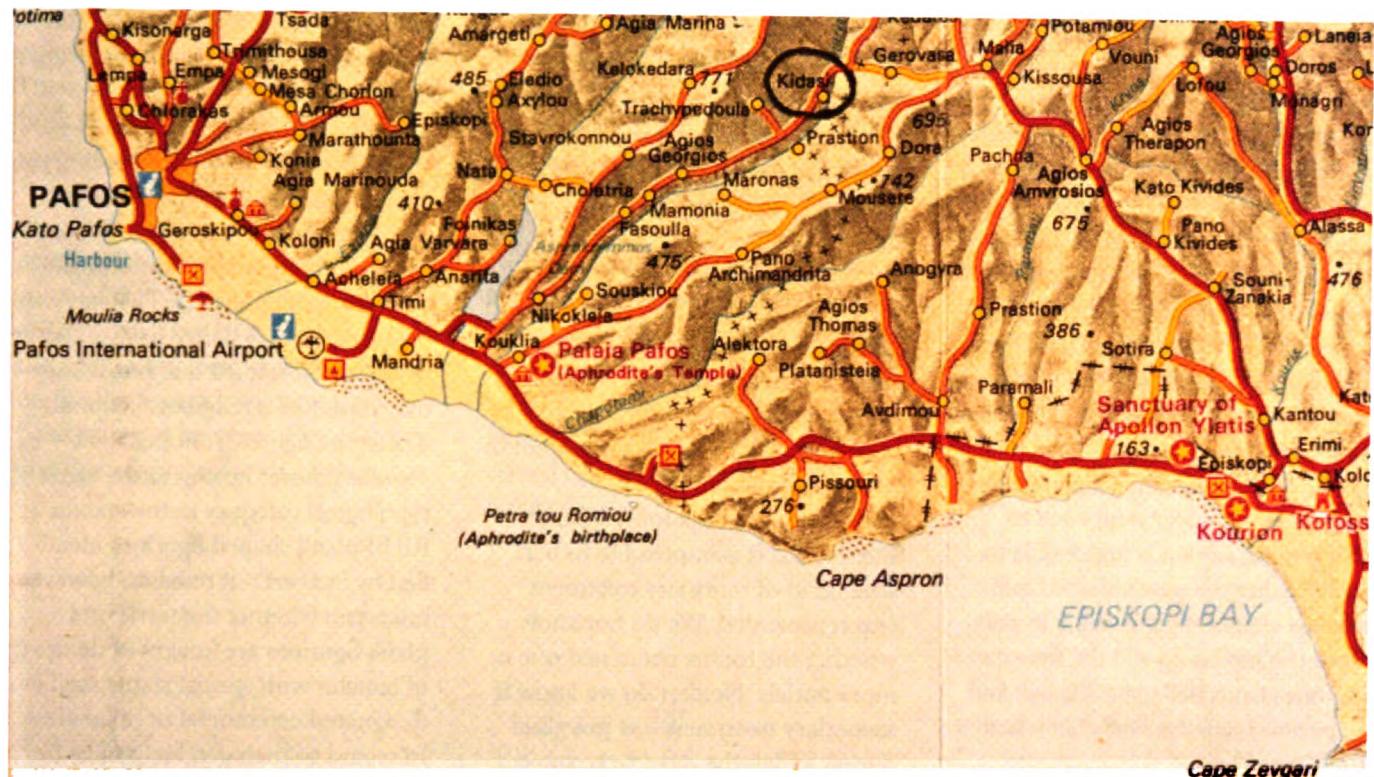


Fig. 6. The location of Kidasi-Foutsi in the Paphos District.

objects do not come from a regular excavation, we know their provenance. A survey was carried out by the Department of Antiquities and myself after it was known that all seven figures came from the burial site Kidasi-Foutsi, 500 m. east of the Dhiarizos River in southern Cyprus. After reaching the almost inaccessible location of the site in question, on a remote high plateau above the river-bed, it was possible to carry out some investigations (Fig. 6, 7).

Scattered around at least 30 looted pit tombs, we noticed fragments of other, obviously closely related, stone plank-shaped figures amongst debris and human and animal skeletal remains. Although these rather large fragmentary stone figures did



Fig. 7. View from the burial site above the Dhiarizos River towards the sea in the south-west. All photograph by the author.

not show any indication of arms or ears, they were carefully worked with rounded corners. They had an average height of 40–46 cm, an average width of 12 cm and an average thickness of 4 cm.<sup>17</sup> As well as some rounded stone heads, we also found several large phallic stone figures with a height of 60–63 cm and a width of 15 cm.<sup>18</sup> All showed remains of black paint and all were found in a fragmentary condition. Unfortunately, because of the unfinished nature of the survey (to my knowledge the Department of Antiquities never went back to this remote site), it is impossible to say whether the plank-shaped and phallus-shaped figures came in pairs from the tombs (as did the free-standing ones from Bellapais-*Vounous* and Lapihos-*Vrysos tou Barba*) or whether they were deposited in juxtaposition.<sup>19</sup> It is also unclear whether their fragmentary condition is due to the activities of the looters or whether they were ritually broken at the time of deposition.

The dating on contextual grounds was not problematic. The abundant pottery associated with both types of stone figures was predominantly Red Polished Ware, Coarse Ware and Drab Polished Ware. There were black-topped RP II-III bowls with pierced knob lugs, Drab Polished amphorae with impressed decoration and Coarse Ware cooking pots and jugs.<sup>20</sup> The stone figures can therefore be dated to the very end of the Early Cypriot or the beginning of the Middle Cypriot period.

### What does the figure tell us about possible mortuary practice?

The ECIII-MCI burial site of Kidasi-*Foutsi*, the site where such close parallels for the extant figure were found, is located hundreds of meters from the settlement. The cluster of pit tombs were cut in bedrock in a variety of settings along small ridges. The tombs may have been used by a few related kin groups. It certainly was not a vast necropolis. Tomb orientation seem to have been random.

*Kidasi-Foutsi* is a looted burial site. Hence, it is impossible to tell what kind of mortuary treatment was represented. We do not know whether the tombs contained one or more burials. Neither do we know if secondary treatment was practised during which the dead were subject to rites involving exhumation and reburial. According to Keswani, such practises were widespread throughout the island during the EC-MC period.<sup>21</sup> While the cosmological significance of the figures is difficult to reconstruct, it is possible that they served as an instrumental link between the dead and the control of fertility – as suggested by Keswani (more broadly) for Cypriot mortuary ideology – or, between the community and the Earth Mother or fertility goddess.<sup>22</sup>

The stone figures from Kidasi-*Foutsi* and elsewhere may have played a significant symbolic role as intermediaries between communities and their ancestors. They were perhaps used during performances of funeral rites, involving the presentation of gifts, possessions, food offerings and libations as an expression to the supernatural world. Such rites would

have been focused especially on the bestowing of fertility upon the living.<sup>23</sup>

### Conclusion

While S. Budin does not refer to *stone* plank-shaped figures, she notes that their terracotta counterparts appear with the rise of anthropomorphism during Vounous site B.<sup>24</sup> Their stylized plank-shape may derive from *xoana* or wooden cult statues, and hence they may have had a religious function. The stone figures from Bellapais-*Vounous* (above) belong to the same typological category as the standard RP III plank-shaped figurines identified by Stewart.<sup>25</sup> It remains, however, uncertain whether the terracotta plank-figurines are images of deities or of females with special status used in designated ceremonial or ritual areas. In regard to their gender, it must be said that, since most images of this period have no explicit sexual characteristics, it is not certain that they are female. It may indeed have been differences in decoration (related to clothing, tattoos and jewellery) which distinguished their sex, age and status. The ECIII-MCI stone plank-shaped figures are even less canonical and very few of them are known.

They may have reflected a sacred paradigm as an *eidolon* in the sense of an image or idea. In that respect, they may have been experienced as instruments symbolically linked with the idea of fertility and/or re-birth.

The association of stone plank-shaped and phallic figures in tomb assemblages at Kidasi-*Foutsi* is not otherwise known from any other EC-MC site on the island. The Zintilis Collection figures, while not found in situ, doubtless also come from this site. Both the plank-shaped and the

phallic examples were worked and painted.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know whether they were originally deposited in the tombs as grave goods proper or placed above the tombs as tomb markers.<sup>27</sup> In either case, they may have been used in funeral ceremonies prior to deposition. The spiritual transfer of the image of the dead person may have been aided by the addition of distinctive markings on the flat figures, depicting facial paint (tattoos) and hair (Fig. 4a–b), and the adornment with earrings.

This was perhaps combined with floral decoration and special items of clothing such as shawls or shashes in special colours and belts. Such details may have reflected particular features of the deceased and/or symbols of clan, class or status, in connection with mortuary ideology and cosmological perceptions and beliefs.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the stone plank-shaped figure now in a Swiss private collection, which is the subject of this paper, served one or more of the following functions:

- a grave good of value in its own right in a woman's tomb.
- a grave-marker on a woman's tomb.
- as one of a pair, a phallic and a plank-shaped figure, deposited *in* or *on* a tomb containing both male and female burials.
- as an instrument linked to the control of fertility and rebirth associated with the Earth Mother or fertility goddess.

#### *Acknowledgement*

I would like to thank Jenny Webb for useful comments and corrections of my English text.

#### NOTES

- 1 Thimme 1976, cat. no. 571.
- 2 Morris 1985, fig. 217.
- 3 Morris 1985, 142.
- 4 Morris 1985, 142–143.
- 5 Morris 1985, 142–143.
- 6 Morris 1985, 143.
- 7 Morris 1985, 144.
- 8 Vandenabeele & Laffineur 1994, 23–35.
- 9 Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, in reference to Pl. VI, no. 52 and no. 52 on the CD-Rom going with this publication; also Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 32, no. 21.

- 10 Merrillees 1994, 37–41, Pl. 12a.
- 11 Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, Pl. VI, nos. 51–57; Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 31–33, nos. 20–26.
- 12 Dikaios 1938, Pl. XXXII-a, 5, 8, 137; Morris 1985, figs. 176–177; Merrillees 1994, 39(A and B)–41.
- 13 Stewart 1962, 387; Merrillees 1994, 39–41, Pl. XIIb.
- 14 Merrillees 1994, 37–41, Pl. 12a.
- 15 Morris 1985, fig. 216.
- 16 Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, 6, Pl. VI, nos. 51–57; Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 31–33, nos. 20–26.
- 17 Lubsen-Admiraal 1994, 32–34, Pl. Xa–e.
- 18 Lubsen-Admiraal 1994, 32–34, Pl. Xf–g.
- 19 Merrillees 1994, 39, refers to A and B (=Vounous T.2, nos. 14–15) as found lying end to end.
- 20 Lubsen-Admiraal 1994, 33, Pl. XI.c–f.
- 21 Keswani 2004, 41–42.
- 22 Keswani 2004, 51.
- 23 Keswani 2004, 51.
- 24 Budin 2002, 120.
- 25 Stewart's Type XXXIX Ba; see Stewart 1962, 263ff.
- 26 The fragmentary plank-shaped figures are not to be confused with querns (see their description).
- 27 In addition to many Near Eastern examples, tomb markers are also known from EC–MC Cyprus (see Keswani 2004, 39).

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# ENGENDERING THE POTTERS OF HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN CYPRUS

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No one will presumably dispute Vassos Karageorghis' *dictum*: "The Cypriots started to make pottery in the Ceramic Neolithic period and the island has always been prolific in pottery production, as attested by the deposition of numerous vases in tombs of all periods".<sup>1</sup>

This being the case, it is surprising how little is known about the potters of ancient Cyprus. Moreover, the scholars who have until now dealt with this issue have mostly focussed on the Prehistoric periods – and in recent years particularly on the gender of the potters of those times.<sup>2</sup> Also, the pottery craft of the island in the 19th and 20th centuries AD, in which women have played a prominent part, has been documented extensively.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, the material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods has not so far been the subject of a separate investigation.

The aim of this paper, then, is to discuss the (few) known possible ceramic production sites and inscriptions, which constitute the available evidence for Cypriot potters in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In a concluding section, the emerging picture is briefly compared to what is known (or suspected) about the situa-

tion before the periods under discussion. Special consideration is given to the gender of the potters with the aim of contributing to the on-going discourse about a possible link between gender and production activities.<sup>4</sup>

## Archaeological evidence for pottery kilns

Scientific clay analyses and other evidence document that pottery was produced at several places in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore puzzling that hardly any ceramic kilns from those periods have been identified on the island.<sup>6</sup> True, traces of a few such structures have been reported from archaeological surveys, but there is scant evidence of their date and of what was produced in them.<sup>7</sup>

Still, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathus, French archaeologists have investigated a kiln, which operated for a limited time at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The excavators refer to it as a "four de potier", but it may have been used primarily for the manufacture of terracottas – perhaps the statuettes in Tanagra style, which were found in some quantity around a nearby altar.<sup>8</sup> A terracotta mould of the Archaic period, which

was unearthed c. 20 meters to the south east of this kiln, hints at a continuity of production of terracottas in this part of the sanctuary over several centuries.<sup>9</sup> Anne Queyrel, who published the Hellenistic terracotta figurines of Amathus, observed that "dans leur immense majorité ... elles sont certes faites ... en une terre beige rosé ... et compatible avec les ressources de la région".<sup>10</sup> It would be unwise, though, to exclude the possibility that the kiln might also have been used for pottery production.

In Despo Pilides' recent excavations at the Hill of Agios Georgios in Nicosia, "raw and waste material and the various types of installation document the entire cycle of preparation and production and indicate that this part of the site was designed as a workshop area for the manufacture of clay, stone and metal objects. On the south slope, a complex of circular cement basins, most probably used for water storage, was connected to at least seven rectangular cement basins ... lower down the slope, which must have formed part of the workshop installations. The fill of the rectangular cisterns contained large amounts of yellowish clay indicating that they may have, therefore, been used for the

settling of clay ... for the manufacture of terracotta objects and, possibly pottery".<sup>11</sup> No kilns were encountered, but the excavator notes that the "presence of various types of hearths, ovens and furnaces point out the need for variable temperatures". The site yielded a mould for a terracotta figurine and wasters of such figures, in addition to "a small number of clay lamp wasters", unbaked loom weights "indicating local manufacture", and evidence of the making of stone objects and metallurgical activities.<sup>12</sup> The finds seem to be associated with a phase beginning with the reconstruction of the area in the Early Hellenistic period; the latest coins on the site were those of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy Caesar XVI (47–44 BC).<sup>13</sup>

### Epigraphic sources

Potters – identified by the word κεραμεύς – feature in about 75 of a total of 309 inscribed vessels dedicated by a professional association, a κοινωνία, to the Nymph at the sanctuary of Kafizin between 225 and 118 BC.<sup>14</sup> Terence B. Mitford, who published the inscriptions in 1980, noted that eight signatures refer to Menekrates of Kyrnos (?) as potter.<sup>15</sup> Demetrios, son of Kallikles, of Tamassos is named in seven such signatures,<sup>16</sup> and he is followed by Philoitos with six,<sup>17</sup> Zomenes with four,<sup>18</sup> and Aristagoras,<sup>19</sup> Eumachos,<sup>20</sup> Thyas,<sup>21</sup> Kleon,<sup>22</sup> Olympios (?) from Keryneia,<sup>23</sup> and Pnytilos<sup>24</sup> with two each. The following occur only once: Solon (?) of Chytri,<sup>25</sup> Eugamos,<sup>26</sup> Ergophilos (?)<sup>27</sup> Epaphroditos,<sup>28</sup> perhaps also Themixenos?<sup>29</sup> and Phr - - -<sup>30</sup> It is true that five or six of these names are uncertain due to the fragmentary character of the inscriptions,<sup>31</sup> but the

person in question is always male when the last part of the name is preserved.

What matters here is the fact that the inscriptions refer specifically to potters, and a discussion of the nature and activities of the κοινωνία is beyond the scope of this paper,<sup>32</sup> but it may be noted that Mitford regarded it as an association of middlemen and wholesalers, which collected the tithe on flax and linseed produced in the central part of the Mesaoreia plain. He considered some of the potters employees of the κοινωνία and others as partners in it, as seems particularly likely in the cases when the potter himself was the dedicant as with Demetrios, who presented the eight vessels he signed as potter to the Nymph.<sup>33</sup> Mitford was adamant that the association left the weaving to others, but Andreas Mehl has counter-argued persuasively that the κοινωνία was actually involved in the production and/or trade in textiles.<sup>34</sup>

Epigraphic sources naming potters are otherwise scarce in Cyprus. No Phoenician inscriptions refer to potters, even if an epitaph from Kition shows that the cup-maker Smyrnos from Xanthos in Lycia died there in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>35</sup> Also, Mitford and Ino K. Nicolaou published a fragmentary Hellenistic (?) roof tile from Salamis inscribed with the name Zenon, which they identify as "the potter's name",<sup>36</sup> and a pithos found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion has an inscription proclaiming it as a dedication of the potter Polyktetos, the son of Timon. Mitford dated it about AD 110, noting that this "potter has offered a sample of his craft – a vast pithos some four or five feet in height to hold oil or water or it may

be corn – as an ex-voto on behalf of some individual, himself or possibly his child, whose identity is lost to us ... The graffiti add seemingly a second beneficiary, perhaps his wife, as an after-thought to the original inscription".<sup>37</sup>

### Conclusions

1) Hardly any structure, which can be identified unambiguously as a potter's kiln from the Hellenistic and Roman periods has yet been detected in Cyprus. However, the Early Hellenistic kiln at Amathus, which may principally have been used by coroplasts, could also have served potters, and it is possible that pottery was manufactured in what may be called the 'industrial quarter' on the Hill of Agios Georgios in Nicosia, even if no kilns have been found there.

2) The potters of Kafizin "include a citizen of Chytri ... another of Keryneia ...; yet another, Demetrios son of Kallikles, of Tamassus ... The rest, without doubt, were, if not from the territory of Idalium, at least from the country adjacent to Androkloou Oikos on the West and NW".<sup>38</sup> True, we have no information about the location of their kilns, but it is reasonable to assume that they were situated in the urban centres in question. The evidence from the Hill of Agios Georgios in Nicosia hints at the possibility that 'industrial quarters' – used by metalworkers, weavers, lamp and terracotta makers and other craftsmen such as presumably potters – operated at the periphery of the towns (not far from a cemetery). Moreover, the kiln at Amathus shows that ceramic production also took place in sanctuaries – perhaps mainly of terracotta figurines but perhaps also of

pottery intended for use as votives. It constitutes a further possible example of a connection between craftsmen, *in casu* potters and coroplasts, who may, incidentally, have been the same persons in different roles. Transport amphorae were presumably manufactured in kilns located close to the sea in order to facilitate their loading on ships.<sup>39</sup>

3) Pilides has stressed the possible connection between potters and textile workers on the Hill of Agios Georgios and compared it with the situation at Kafizin, where such a relationship presumably existed.<sup>40</sup> One wonders if the representation on a Bichrome IV crater in the Cyprus Museum of what seems to be a potter's shop may be a further indication of this. It depicts three rows of similar objects. The uppermost one shows seven jugs suspended side by side from nails, and the lowest row has six likewise suspended bowls, and six enigmatic 'comb-like' objects can be seen between these two rows.<sup>41</sup> Might the latter be heckling combs – i.e. wooden boards with rows of nails, which are used to remove the fibrous core and impurities from flax? Similar objects are shown on other Cypriote vessels.<sup>42</sup> Be that as it may, the evidence from Hellenistic Cyprus throws an interesting sidelight on

Jeroen Poblome's recent comparison between the textile and pottery crafts of Roman Asia Minor.<sup>43</sup>

4) Some of the potters named on the inscriptions from Kafizin were presumably members of a *koivwvia*, and they are thereby linked with the professional associations of potters in the Roman East.<sup>44</sup> This – in turn – suggests that the modalities of ceramic production and distribution assumed for Roman Asia Minor may also apply to Cyprus.<sup>45</sup>

5) Pottery production in the island in these periods had clearly moved beyond a 'Household Industry' as defined in current theoretical models of craft production.<sup>46</sup> We seem to be dealing with a so-called 'Workshop Industry', which was supposedly located in a "designated space outside of or in addition to domestic context", and employed full-time workers producing "speciality items, probably a variety" using "permanent installations, some mobile tools".<sup>47</sup> The next stage, the 'Large-scale Industry', which is described by the very same words, seems an appropriate label for the Cypriot Sigillata industry of the Roman period,<sup>48</sup> even if it is at the present time impossible to say when the shift from 'Workshop Industry' to 'Large-scale Industry' occurred.

### Engendering the potters

Both the 'Workshop Industry' and the 'Large-scale Industry' models imply that women as well as men were involved in the production.<sup>49</sup> Yet, only male potters are so far documented in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. The evidence from Cyprus in the Archaic period is likewise only indicative of male potters,<sup>50</sup> and this is also largely true in Archaic and Classical Greece, even if there is some slight evidence to the contrary there.<sup>51</sup> At present, however, there is no direct evidence of women (nor for that matter of slave) potters in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, and even if "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence", it seems safe to conclude that men did indeed play the most important role in this sphere of life in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. Moreover, the available material does not allow us to link the ancient potters with their contemporaneous male and female colleagues who have been active in the centre of the island for at least three hundred years, and are at times supposed to "have kept a tradition dating from time immemorial".<sup>52</sup>

## NOTES

1 Karageorghis 2006, 233.

2 Hankey 1983; Walz 1985; Clarke 2002; London 2002; for the two latter, cf. Steele 2003; Bolger 2003, 63–70.

3 Cf. London 1989, 220: “Today 23 traditional potters work in four villages ... and all but two are women”. See also Ionas 2000 with references to previous literature.

4 Wright 1991; Costin 1996; Conkey & Spector 1998; Gilcrest 1999, 31–53.

5 Cf. Lund 2006, 32–38.

6 I am grateful to Henryk Meyza for having told me that no kilns have been found during the Polish excavations at Nea Paphos, contrary to the information in Ladstätter 2002.

7 Symeonoglou 1972, 193: “19. Angaremenos ... No structures are visible (with the exception of one kiln which appears very recent), but we suspect that a pottery factory existed here; This site was probably used for making pottery, at least from the Roman period onwards”; Ahmet 1995, 80–81: “Ayios Phokas (Ayfuka) ... Uncatalogued sherds included kiln wasters and heavily brown glazed sherds. It is possible that a pottery kiln was located in the area north-east of the chapel”. Phocaean Red Slip Ware and Cypriot Red Slip Ware were among the pottery picked up on this location; Lécuyer & Michaelides 2004, 142: “Archangelos ... the ruins of a chapel and aqueducts, while Hector Catling also noted pottery kilns in the vicinity”.

8 Hermary & Schmid 1996, 118–119, fig. 43; Queyrel (1988, 205–208) considers only one of these figurines (from quadrant MT 266) to be an import.

9 Hermary 2000, 108, no. 725, pl. 50. The mould was found in quadrant MU 268. Also, ceramic wasters from the Archaic period have been found in the vicinity of the palace of Amathus, cf. Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 102.

10 Queyrel 1988, 15. Of course, this does not necessarily imply that they were produced within the sanctuary.

11 Pilides 2004, 158; cf. also Pilides 2003.

12 Pilides 2004, 157–159.

13 Cf. Pilides 2003, 183: “Occupation appears to have been continuous from the early Hellenistic period indicated by the presence of coins of Ptolemy I (305–285 B.C.”; Pilides 2004, 157–159.

14 Cf. Mitford 1980; Bazemore 1998, 85–87, 205–208; Mehl 2000, 721–724; Salles 1993, 172–175; Malfitana 2004; Pilides 2004, 161–164; Lund 2006, 32.

15 Mitford 1980, 11–12, no. 6; 49–50, no. 63; 52–53, no. 66; 54, no. 68; 59–60, no. 78; 71–72, no. 98; 75–76, no. 103; 96–97, no. 126.

16 Mitford 1980, 15, no. 13; 40–41, no. 50; 48–49, no. 62; 99, no. 130; 178, no. 239; 179, no. 241; 179–180, no. 242.

17 Mitford 1980, 12, no. 7; 14, no. 12; 19–20, no. 22; 46–47, no. 60; 50–51, no. 64; 68, no. 92?

18 Mitford 1980, 69, no. 94; 70–71, no. 96; 225–226, no. 289; 233–234, no. 297.

19 Mitford 1980, 189–190, no. 254; 226–227, no. 290.

20 Mitford 1980, 105–106, no. 137; 243–245, no. 309.

21 Mitford 1980, 213–214, no. 276; 232–233, no. 296?

22 Mitford 1980, 56–57, no. 71?; 92–93, no. 121.

23 Mitford 1980, 37–39, no. 48; 241–243, no. 307.

24 Mitford 1980, 71, no. 97; 73–74, no. 101.

25 Mitford 1980, 35–36, no. 46.

26 Mitford 1980, 82–83, no. 113 a.

27 Mitford 1980, 88–90, no. 118 b.

28 Mitford 1980, 102–104, no. 135 c.

29 Mitford 1980, 104–105, no. 136.

30 Mitford 1980, 146, no. 197.

31 Mitford 1980, 259, n. 6.

32 The evidence from Kafizin needs to be reassessed on the background of recent research in the professional associations of the Hellenistic and Roman world, cf. Zimmermann 2002 and Gabrielsen 2008 with references.

33 Mitford 1980, 255 and 259.

34 Mitford 1980, 232 and 257–258; Mehl 2000, 721–724. Indeed, the fact that two potters put their signatures on *epinetra*, a utensil placed on the knee for the carding of wool or flax, may support the notion that the company was involved in weaving, cf. Mitford 1980, 232–234, nos. 296–297.

35 Sznycer 1985, 86; Nicolaou (1986, 432) refers to Smyrnos as a “potter”; Salles (1993, 172) writes that it is not certain that he was “un simple potier”; Oziol (2004, 274, no. 2068) regards him as a “fabricant de verres à boire en métaux plus au moins précieux”.

36 Mitford & Nicolaou 1974, 19–20, no. 7, pl. 1.2. Only the first three letters are preserved, so we cannot be absolutely certain that we are dealing with a male.

37 Mitford 1971, 238–240, no. 123; the last four letters of the potter’s name are not preserved, hence there is a theoretical possibility that we might be dealing with a woman; Walz (1985, 130) reports the name as Polyktetas. For the find circumstances, cf. Sinos 1990, 27–28.

38 Mitford 1980, 259; cf. also p. 255.

39 Angaremenos, referred to *supra* in n. 6 might be one such site. For the situation in Greece, cf. for instance, Garlan 2004–2005, 270, fig. 1. Thus also with the Late Antique amphora kilns at Nea Paphos, Amathus and Zygi-Petriti, cf. Demesticha 2000; Demesticha & Michaelides 2001; Manning et al. 2000.

40 Pilides 2004, 161–164. Cf. also Mehl 2000, 721–722, n. 96; Mitford 1980, 259.

41 Karageorghis & Gagniers 1974, 498, where the objects are described as “peignes”.

42 Karageorghis & Gagniers 1974, 501–503. Such items are not shown, however, on a Cypro Geometric III Ware dish in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn, which represents a loom, cf. Karageorghis 2006, 231, fig. 244.

43 Poblome 2004.

44 Zimmermann 2002, 154–158.

45 Cf. Poblome 1976 and 2004.

46 Peacock 1982, 8–11; Smith 2002, 284–285 with more references.

47 Quoted from Smith 2002, 285, fig. 1.

48 Cf. Lund 1997.

49 Smith 2002, 285, fig. 1.

50 As concluded by Walz 1985, 13. The evidence consists of: 1) a Plain White jug dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC from Kourion with an inscription in the Cypriot syllabary: "I, Onasimes, son of Lachamos (?) fired (this pot)", cf. Mitford 1971, 35-38, no. 13; Walz 1985, 130; Bazemore 1998 III, 410; 2) a scene shown on a fragmentary Bichrome IV Ware crater, cf. Karageorghis & Gagniers 1974, 12-14; Karageorghis 2006, 206-207, no. 205, fig. 221; 3) a Cypro-Archaic limestone figure in the British Museum, cf. Hodges 1970, 150, fig. 170; Walz 1985, 130.

51 Cf. Χατζηδημητρίου 2005, 140-141 and 151-153.

52 Cf. Ionas 2000, 222; Gabrieli 2006, chapter 8.4, p. 15-20.

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# ISLAND HISTORIES AND GENDER STORIES: A COMPARATIVE VIEW THROUGH NEOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES FROM CRETE AND CYPRUS

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## Introduction

Selecting Crete as the analytical analogy for Cyprus became obvious on a first level through the clear similarities between the two islands. The comparable size of two of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, the similar climatic, topographical, faunal and floral characteristics, their geographical location in relation to Anatolia and mainland Greece respectively, as well as their similar trajectories are points that have already been highlighted by scholars.<sup>1</sup> More importantly, the parallel routes that both islands followed throughout most of the Neolithic and early part of the Bronze Age provide us with a particularly promising avenue for comparative research in prehistoric social developments.

Though for a long time islands were considered to have represented isolated 'laboratories' of biological and social developments, and thus ideal units of controlled analysis, recently this idea has come under fire. It has been realised that defining islands as cultural units is not a straightforward process, as it is rare that we can prove they existed in isolation from the surrounding world.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, insularity is perceived as a

cultural construct and thus a productive approach to the study of islands needs to focus on the decisions and mechanisms behind insularity and how interpretations may vary in a given context in relation to historical circumstances.<sup>3</sup> In fact, phases of introspective development and contact with the world outside characterise the trajectories of both islands. It is against the milieu of such socially prescribed phases of cultural isolation and contact that I wish to explore the ways in which gender dynamics and social organisation developed on the two islands as afforded to us through the study of anthropomorphic figurines. The resulting comparison will serve as a paradigm that can elucidate the parallel and diverging avenues followed in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods in the trajectories of social development.

The choice of anthropomorphic figurines has proven to be a particularly productive avenue for the study of gender and has successfully been applied in the archaeologies of the Near East, Europe and South America. Though the dominance of the Mother Goddess theory did create a disillusion among archaeologists for the prospects of figurine studies,

a new optimism has given figurines a central place in research that explores aspects of prehistoric social organisation. The symbolic ideas encapsulated by figurines as objects, therefore, as well as their emblematic use in the context of prehistoric everyday life can offer us insights into the social and ideological cosmology of prehistoric communities.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the study of figurines within the framework of gender archaeology, which is particularly anthropocentric, allows us to deconstruct the perceptions held by the figurine manufacturers and users concerning gender and social identity in general, and reveals the associated symbolisms and the mechanisms through which they operated.<sup>5</sup>

Aspects of analysis that play a central part in the understanding of gender include the study of the represented physical body, decorative motifs and posture as the represented expressions of gender embodiment. In fact, the modelling of the body of figurines requires special attention because the actual physical body is shaped by society and in turn shapes gender identity,<sup>6</sup> but can equally express a reaction to dominant discourses.<sup>7</sup> When studying figurines it is also important to remember that similar to

other types of material culture, which have the capacity to be reflective<sup>8</sup> or reactive,<sup>9</sup> the contextual analysis of figurines can reveal the intentions and mechanisms behind their use in the process of social negotiation, but also the inbuilt agency of figurines articulated in the interaction with human entities.<sup>10</sup> Deconstructing, therefore, the mental processes behind the modelling of figurines' represented physical and social bodies, we can begin to explore the processes of gender construction and the dynamic way in which gender roles were being negotiated by prehistoric actors.

For the purposes of the present discussion, a uniform theoretical and methodological approach has been followed for the study of Cretan and Cypriot figurines, and though the Cypriot record of figurine production is not as continuous as it has been on Crete, such inconsistencies of the archaeological record deserve special attention for the understanding of social organisation and gender and roles on Cyprus. It is at this point that we need to consider how and when iconic symbolism may have been employed by prehistoric societies. As Rowlands has argued,<sup>11</sup> iconic objects play a fundamental role in collective memory, which is transmitted through *incorporating practices*. Objects, as opposed to language or speech, trigger memory by appealing to the senses and stimulate traces of the unconscious, which is the way memory is energised.<sup>12</sup> Objects that are highly visible (as one may argue is also the case of figurines with their striking decorative features and careful modelling that aimed at triggering the senses) play a role in the conservative transmission of cultural

norm especially when they are closely bound with notions of authority.<sup>13</sup> Apart from the constant exposure to such objects, their deliberate destruction or removal from circulation (e.g. interment in burials) also generate memories through their absence,<sup>14</sup> which is equally relevant for the understanding of mechanisms behind the manipulation of figurines both on Crete and Cyprus. Following from the points raised by Rowlands, I would like to expand by arguing that anthropomorphic figurines could effectively communicate social messages that at the time may have been of paramount importance. Their highly visual iconic character and the fact they 'embodied' social and ideological messages which stimulated collective memory, their ability to appeal to the senses and emotions and the mysticism in which their manufacture and use was likely to have been enveloped, lead me to argue that prehistoric societies drew on figurine production at times when iconic symbolisms were necessary for the effective expression, reinforcement or even challenge of commonly held values.

Finally, a few words are necessary for the explanation of the recording and categorisation methods of figurines, which are employed for the discussion of both Cretan and Cypriot data. The criteria I have employed are based on the absence or presence of primary anatomical features (such as breasts and genitalia), but also secondary attributes (such as swollen abdomens denoting pregnancy, wide hips and prominent buttocks). Far from imposing an *a priori* correspondence between physical body and social gender categories, the actual study of figurines' represented bod-

ies, posture, and decoration, reveal a multi-level construction of gender. In brief the main categories that I have employed in the analysis consist of *Female* figurines with the presence of modelled female genitalia and/or breasts, and *Female form* figurines which bear the hour-glass outline of the female body and/or accentuated buttocks, but lack the anatomical attributes present in the *Female* category. *Male* figurines are marked with male genitalia and *Asexual* figurines lack any form of primary or secondary anatomical attributes. Finally, *Ambiguous* figurines bear both female and male anatomical attributes, or their modelled genitalia display male and female traits. As I will discuss later on, however, in the case of Cyprus ambiguity tends to be expressed in the overall modelling of the figurine. Translating the categories mentioned above into gender categories involves a second reading which takes into consideration aspects such as decorative motifs and posture which eventually bring to light overlapping or discerning aspects of gender representations.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the analysis presented here is the result of a preliminary survey of the available Cypriot material which is by no means exhaustive, but nevertheless proves a particularly fruitful and promising path for the understanding of social processes in Mediterranean prehistory.

### **Figurines and gender in the Neolithic: the case of Crete and Cyprus**

The Aceramic is the first phase that figurine production, though at minimal level, is attested on both islands.

Only one figurine of the transitional Aceramic/Early Neolithic date is known from Knossos,<sup>15</sup> while Cyprus has produced a slightly higher number of anthropomorphic figurines that have been recovered from three pre-ceramic sites.<sup>16</sup> The wider circulation of figurines, as well as the higher number of figurines that have been recovered per site, would imply that figurine production on Cyprus was more prolific than on Crete, though only statistical analysis could establish with certainty differentiated levels of figurine production.

In order to explore further such implications, we need to turn our attention to the wider cultural context in which these figurines operated. Starting with Crete, Aceramic Knossos has yielded unfurnished child burials in the living area,<sup>17</sup> which suggests that age played a structuring role in the categorisation of community members.<sup>18</sup> Also, the low number of figurines and the absence of evidence indicating prominent distinctions between genders would suggest that gender differences were not of paramount importance for the smooth operation of the community. Though the production of figurines was part of both aceramic cultures, which are characterised as egalitarian, other types of evidence suggest that social organisation on Cyprus placed greater emphasis on differentiation.

Burials on Cyprus that date to the Late Aceramic not only represent individual adult interments accompanied with grave goods in some occasions, but also reveal a differentiation between sexes through the shaping of female skulls and the orientation of female bodies.<sup>19</sup> Such distinctions can also be taken to indicate that gender

divisions on Cyprus were likely to have been based on aspects of the physical body and reproduction, at least at the stage of sexual maturity. Also the variety and wide circulation of personal material culture forms also indicate an emphasis played on the individual,<sup>20</sup> but also gender, all features that are not supported by the Cretan evidence.

Turning again our attention to the figurines themselves and what they represented, the specimen from Crete belonged to the *Asexual* variety, which, though a flimsy piece of evidence, appears in accord with the absence of evidence indicating an emphasis on gender. The Cypriot specimens, on the other hand, that represented heads with articulated facial features might in fact be an expression of individualism. The modelling of the body of Cypriot figurines is equally characterised by an abstraction in form and the interplay between a seeming sexual 'neutrality' and ambiguity expressed through their modelling may be interpreted as an attempt of prehistoric actors to acknowledge, yet at the same time underplay gender differences. Such intentions on one hand may be interpreted as a sign of actual equality between genders, but also as an attempt to promote a peaceful existence among community members. A similar case of suppressed interests of individual subgroups has also been argued for the site of *Khirokitia*, illustrating thus the contest between a sharing ethos and the desire for accumulation of wealth by incipient subgroups.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps in that context gender unison may have acted as an added regulating parameter that inhibited the emergence of social inequalities.

In the ceramic Neolithic, the pattern noted for the aceramic period is reversed. Starting with Crete, the sample in question consists of 121 figurines, the vast majority of which have been recovered from Knossos. The overall pattern suggests a distribution that corresponds chronologically with the dispersal of population around the Cretan landscape,<sup>22</sup> as indicated by the recovery of figurines from Final Neolithic sites, the foundation of which was the result of population growth. There is, therefore, a diachronic use of anthropomorphic symbolism in the form of figurines throughout the Neolithic on Crete (Fig. 1).

The chart in Fig. 2 shows a clear predominance of *Female* and other *Female*-related categories, followed by the *Asexual* variety, while *Male* and *Ambiguous* figurines represent a very low percentage.<sup>23</sup> The evidence suggests that it is a pattern that generally stays the same throughout the Neolithic, apart from the *Ambiguous* variety that is not attested in the Final Neolithic phases (Fig. 3).<sup>24</sup> Systematic analysis conducted on Neolithic figurines from the whole of the Aegean has also revealed that the overlap of motifs between *Female* and *Female form* figurines (Fig. 4), and *Female* and *Asexual* figurines (Fig. 5), suggests a multi-faceted way in which female gender identity was constructed, though it is possible that some undecorated *Asexual* figurines were perhaps intended to represent men.<sup>25</sup> I propose, therefore, that *Female form* and *Asexual* figurines represented different stages in a person's life (pre-pubescent or mature age) and *Ambiguous* figurines may have symbolised an actual third gender or a symbolic unison of

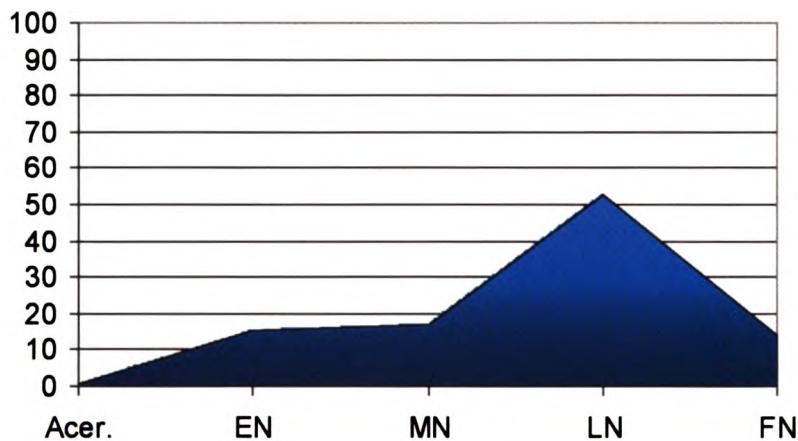


Fig. 1. Proportion of Cretan figurines according to Neolithic phases.

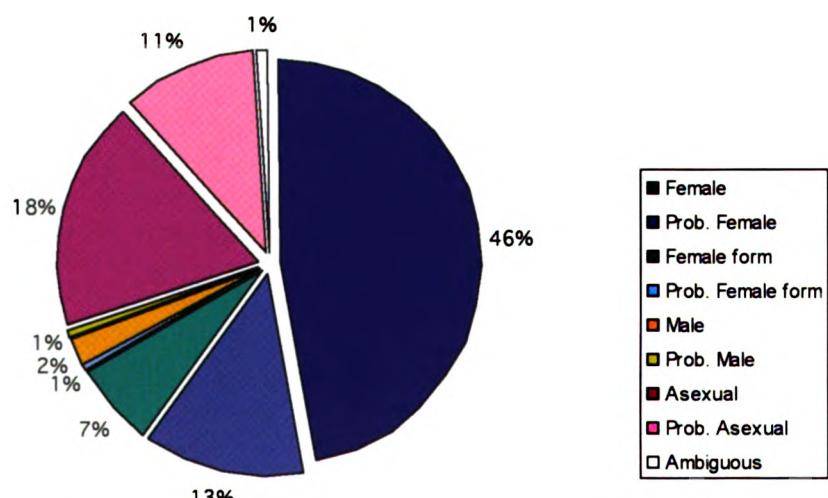


Fig. 2. Proportion of Neolithic Cretan figurines according to categories.

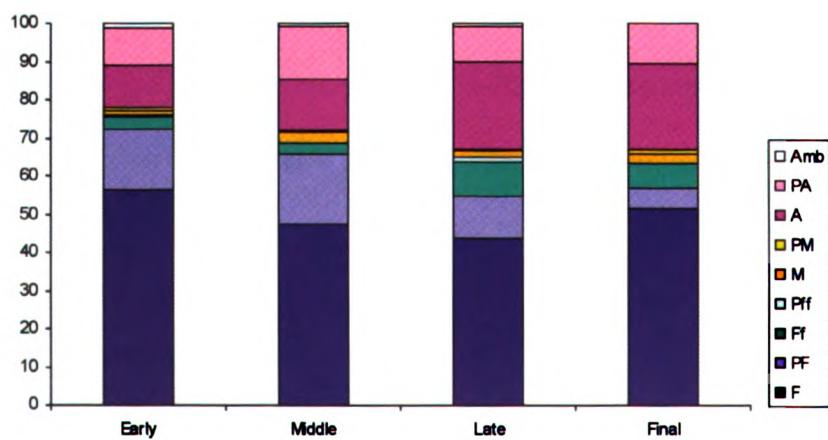


Fig. 3. Percentage of figurine categories according to broad chronological periods.

two genders. In summary, the results suggest a clear preoccupation with aspects related to women's lives, and reveal the multiple and complex ways in which gender was constructed along the parallel axis of age.

Moreover, an analysis of the type of motifs decorating Cretan figurines shows that they mainly adorned *Female* figurines (Fig. 6) and they denoted body decoration, suggesting thus that the manipulation of women's bodies through body painting, tattooing, or scarification, played an important role in the construction of their gender identity throughout the Neolithic period. Also, the use of pigment and its association with particular parts of the female anatomy (i.e. breasts, abdomen, pubic area) suggests an added way in which women's reproductive aspects were emphasised symbolically. As far as the postural repertoire is concerned, there seems to be a distinction between *Female* and *Male* figurines with *Female* figurines drawing attention to fertility-related parts (Fig. 7), and an overlap between *Female*, *Female form* and *Asexual* figurines. The postural emphasis on fertility-related anatomical parts, however, appears to become less common in the Late and Final Neolithic.

The evidence for the Ceramic Neolithic of Cyprus, on the other hand, reveals a diametrically different picture. Following the gap after the collapse of Khirokitia, the subsequent ceramic period has yielded a very low number of figurines, possibly as a result of low production level, contrasting strongly with Crete where figurine production is constant from the Early Neolithic through to the Late Neolithic (LN) (Fig. 1). Moreo-



Fig. 4. Shared motifs between *Female* (left) and *Female form* figurines from Sitagroi, Late Neolithic (my emphasis). (Source: Renfrew, C., M. Gimbutas & E. S. Elster 1986, Figs 9.12 and 9.09.)

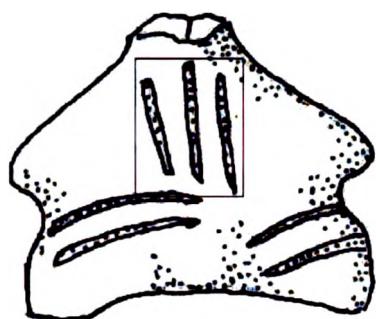


Fig. 5. Shared motifs between *Female* (left) and *Asexual* figurines from Sitagroi, Late Neolithic (my emphasis). (Source: Renfrew, C., M. Gimbutas & E. S. Elster 1986, Figs 9.121 and 9.34.)

ver, Cyprus exhibits a very limited range of modelling repertoire, unlike Cretan figurines which fall into five main representational categories. In addition, the emphasis on female symbolism that characterised Cretan figurines is not supported by the Cypriot evidence. In fact, the schematic form of aceramic figurines continues into the ceramic period and though they lack any anatomical features, a strong element of ambiguity is also inherent (Fig. 8). Cypriot figurines

also display a limited array of postural representation and an absence of decorative motifs in contrast to those from Crete, which would imply that the construction and embodiment of female gender identity was not subject to the manipulation of physical appearance as on Crete.

In order to explain these contrasting patterns, even by taking into account the shorter duration of the Ceramic Neolithic on Cyprus, we need to consider the possible fac-

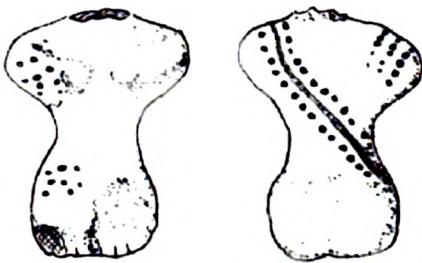


Fig. 6. Example of *Female* figurine marked with motifs denoting body decoration from Knossos, Middle Neolithic. (Drawing by the author, after Ucko 1968, fig. 121.)



Fig. 7. Example of *Female* figurine with hands on the breast area from Knossos, Late Neolithic. (Courtesy of the British School at Athens.)

tors that may be responsible for the attested differences. Firstly, I believe that we can exclude the demographic factor as the instigator of relative social complexity with implications for gender, since the evidence suggests similar population densities on the two islands. Differences in the archaeological record, however, may be related to the distinct social strategies followed on the two islands as a response to the changes at community level, as will be discussed below.

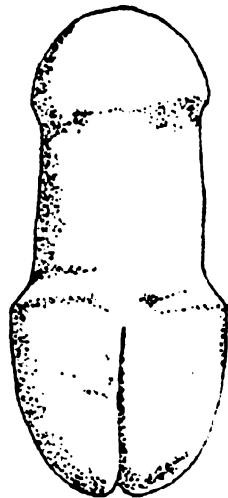


Fig. 8. Example of ambiguous figurine from Sotira. (Drawing by the author after Flourentzos 1988, Pl. A:1.)

Unlike Crete, therefore, population density on Cyprus seems to have fluctuated,<sup>26</sup> which may explain the differences also noted in the figurine record. The evidence on Crete indicates a progressive demographic expansion into the landscape and growth of Knossos which in the LN is estimated to have reached a population between 300–500 individuals,<sup>27</sup> a time when evidence also suggests greater socio-economic complexity which was expressed through greater control over agricultural production, increased sense of ownership, social competition and strategies, such as long-distance exchange, and conspicuous consumption playing a prominent role.<sup>28</sup> The evidence from Cyprus suggests settlement hierarchy, as on Crete, and a similar population level for a typical village which is estimated around 500 individuals, as well as cultural homogeneity.<sup>29</sup> As far as funerary practices are concerned on the two islands, the burial record

of Crete indicates the practice of cave inhumations<sup>30</sup> with no indication for sex differentiation or association with grave goods. The mortuary record on Cyprus, on the other hand, presents an interesting pattern which suggests a departure from aceramic burial practices, but similar patterns with the Cretan tradition whereby burials are void of grave goods and do not indicate sex differentiation.<sup>31</sup>

Taking our discussion back to the issue of figurines, I believe that the answers concerning the differing circulation, production and gender symbolisms of figurines lie in the way the two societies were organised, how they operated and the demands that emerged in the course of their development. In the case of Crete, the fact that figurines were part of the Neolithic material culture suggests that they were used as vehicles through which messages related to social identity, and gender in particular, could be circulated and reinforced effectively through their use in everyday living contexts. We can also infer that gender roles and identities played a prominent and structuring role in Neolithic Cretan society and that the maintenance and perpetuation of such divisions (though not of equality) through the employment of iconic symbolism promoted the maintenance of commonly held values. In fact, the figurine record of Crete is marked by a preservation of figurine forms and features through time, which would imply that Cretan Neolithic society was characterised by a considerable degree of conservatism, as opposed to other Aegean regions.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, if we assume that the increased competition and control over agricultural resources

was also tied to reproduction and the propagation of household groups, then the emphasis placed on gender categories helped to reinforce such values. Finally, the proliferated female imagery also implies that associations related to the female body and identity played a structuring role in the organisation and maintenance of social order on Neolithic Crete.

The limited production and circulation of figurines on Cyprus, on the other hand, leads us to a number of inferences. The first point is that the schematisation of the few figurines and more importantly of their expressed 'asexuality', or even ambiguity, contrasts strongly with the evidence from Crete. Though asexual and ambiguous specimens are also attested on Crete, the modelling repertoire of Cyprus is of a markedly different nature. It has been observed cross-culturally that there is a close association between reproductive aspects of the physical body and gender<sup>33</sup> and the lack of clear anatomical features, therefore, could be interpreted as an attempt to deliberately 'silence' the existing gender categories, or to express gender unison symbolically, though the intention to denote a third gender should not be dismissed. It is also equally possible that behind the underplayed gender symbolism on Cyprus lies the fact that less was at stake economically and socially by the operation of 'correct' or distinct gender roles than on Crete. As a result, gender roles may have been more fluid and negotiable compared to Crete. Perhaps we should envisage that, despite demographic similarities, society on Cyprus, in which gender seems to have played a less formative role, was less fragmented than on

Crete. In fact, evidence for insularity of Cyprus and the maintenance of a homogeneous island identity<sup>34</sup> fits in with a desire to promote social harmony. Moreover, unlike the gradual growth of Knossos and Crete at a demographic and social level, the ceramic period on Cyprus is characterised by different social strategies that aimed at suppressing the intensification of inequalities,<sup>35</sup> which may explain why figurines were not used as widely as vehicles of prescribed social behaviour that would enhance social differences even at gender level. If we assume that distinct gender roles and identities formed the basis of nuclear family households, then a deliberate attempt to obscure gender imagery may imply another form of society's strategy to undermine the expression of sub-group interests and thus the growth of power.<sup>36</sup>

Let us turn our attention now to the Final Neolithic (FN) and Chalcolithic phases on Crete and Cyprus respectively, which deserve separate discussion. Starting with Crete, a number of trends continue unchanged from the previous LN phase. The majority of figurines were *Female*, the proportion of the *Male* variety remained low, while no known FN *Ambiguous* examples are known to date (Fig. 3).<sup>37</sup> The limited evidence of motifs suggests that decorated FN figurines continued to represent body decoration mainly on *Female* figurines, while the postural repertoire shows that less emphasis was placed on anatomical parts which are associated with reproduction, such as the breast, abdomen and pubic areas.<sup>38</sup> In addition, despite the increasing number of newly founded sites and the dispersal of population around the island, the

number of recovered figurines is lower than anticipated.<sup>39</sup>

Considering that more of the LN and FN than EN-MN settlement of Knossos has been exposed through modern excavation,<sup>40</sup> it is possible we are detecting a decrease of emphasis placed on the production and circulation of anthropomorphic figurines, interestingly in the context of socio-economic developments on FN Crete which had already begun to emerge in the LN. One of the traits that characterised this final phase is, for instance, the heterarchical nature of society, and the competition that was expressed through the control of economic and social resources.<sup>41</sup> At the same time cultural affinities and differences of ceramic styles in the FN indicate the formation of cultural boundaries between regions on Crete, but also parallels with areas outside Crete.<sup>42</sup> It would therefore appear that figurine production may have decreased in the FN, despite the dialectic way in which genders were constructed or the continuing preoccupation of society with female symbolism. A possible drop in figurine production may indicate that gender dichotomies had reached a phase of consolidation, but also that emphasis may have been placed on different social aspects (possibly blood ties) which played the primary role for the cohesion of the household, family group and the community. That pattern also coincides with the decreased modelling of postures that in earlier phases drew emphasis to parts, such as the breast and pubic area, which can be taken to indicate a departure from the corporeal dimension of gender and a move more towards socially constructed identities. Also in relation

to evidence that shows expansion of population, foundation of new sites and the emergence of cultural boundaries in a changing social landscape, genealogical links perhaps played the prime structuring and connecting role in FN society by replacing earlier intra-community processes that were mainly underlined by gender.

The Chalcolithic phase of Cyprus is marked by a dramatic increase of figurine production and variety, especially in contrast to the ceramic Neolithic, though the Late Chalcolithic shows an abrupt end of figurine manufacture. Anthropomorphic symbolism, therefore, was expressed in a variety of media and forms and included clay and stone figurines, picrolite cruciform pendants, as well as anthropomorphic pottery vessels.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the variety of clay figurines also indicates less schematisation and an increased emphasis on anatomical and decorative details, which denoted clothing, jewellery, make-up and body decoration.<sup>44</sup> The evidence also indicates an increase of female representations and the theme of childbirth in the form of clay and large limestone specimens became common,<sup>45</sup> along with the cruciform and squatting picrolite pendants, the posture of which is associated with birth-giving.<sup>46</sup> Interesting patterns are also revealed through the circulation and deposition of Chalcolithic figurines which took place in a variety of contexts, such as living areas, ceremonial and funerary deposits.<sup>47</sup>

The theme of birthing in both living and funerary contexts has been linked to a special social position held by women and a high socio-economic status associated with their role in social reproduction,<sup>48</sup> and the control

over the production and exchange of picrolite birthing figurines as prestige objects.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the same argument has been further linked with reference to Late Chalcolithic evidence for ritual destruction of birthing symbolism and the end of its production, as well as evidence suggesting a shift at the level of social organisation.<sup>50</sup> At this point, however, I would like to express my reservations regarding the argument that figurine evidence indicates the rise and subsequent decline of female social status. Firstly, the Early and Middle Chalcolithic phases are characterised by a variety of anthropomorphic symbolisms in terms of the represented anatomy (articulate along schematic and asexual forms), which together with the wide range of modelled themes and postures suggests that our focus on picrolite 'birthing' figurines may be partial. Also the fact that some of the picrolite figurines belong to the *Asexual* variety, indicates that the link between female representations and picrolite figurines is not self-evident. In addition, as also pointed out by Meskell & Knapp,<sup>51</sup> the double cruciform figurines expressed both masculine and feminine elements, which would imply complementary rather than unequal gender roles. Finally, let us not forget also that alongside female and asexual specimens, male symbolism also circulated in the form of clay phalloi, as well as male models, as the example said to be from Souskiou-*Vathykakas*,<sup>52</sup> the seated posture of which could be interpreted as expressing marked social status.<sup>53</sup>

I propose, therefore, that we see the explosion of figurine production in the early and middle Chalcolithic as an indication of a phase in which

the construction of gender identities played a prominent role for the organisation of Cypriot society. Also, the fact that men, women and children were buried individually in the middle Chalcolithic<sup>54</sup> further demonstrates an emphasis placed on gender and age-related identities. Moreover, the direct association of figurines as grave goods with women and children is further evidence for the use of anthropomorphic symbolism as identity markers. Combined with indications for social hierarchy as a consequence of population growth<sup>55</sup> and evidence for surplus storage, exploitation of copper and picrolite resources,<sup>56</sup> the proliferation of anthropomorphic symbolism expressed and shaped gender identities with a much higher intensity than in earlier periods. In fact the standardised form of picrolite figurines indicates the intention behind figurine production to reinforce culturally constructed identities in an authoritative way. On the other hand, the varied form of clay figurines and their detailed modelling suggests that an element of individuality also found room for expression, possibly as a result of different genders being associated more closely with their manufacture, indicating therefore a closer link between women and an element of self-projection inherent in clay figurines.<sup>57</sup> The parallel circulation of clay figurines may have operated as a counteracting and eroding mechanism to the more 'rigid' and centrally controlled picrolite models. The employment of highly visual media, such as figurines, therefore, served the social needs of Chalcolithic communities by validating and shaping gender identities through the added ideological connotations at a time when the structure of society

relied on gender as a primary shaping agent. In fact, the use of figurines as grave goods demonstrates the ideological undertones with which they were loaded. Perhaps such emphasis on gender may be related to a new role that gendered individuals were called to play for the purposes of exogamy and control over resources in the new context of socio-economic complexity.<sup>58</sup>

In the Late Chalcolithic, however, when evidence suggests a shift towards lineage-based social organisation,<sup>59</sup> the decline of figurines perhaps suggests the consolidation and increasing importance of social groups over other social identities, such as gender. Whether the social complexity that developed in the Late Chalcolithic was a result of external or internal processes,<sup>60</sup> the Late Chalcolithic saw the rise of emergent elites, which expressed a common social identity through the manipulation of prestige goods.<sup>61</sup> It is possible, therefore, that at the time of the break of insularity, with its resulting consequences, social status or group identity may have muted the conspicuous expression of other identities, such as gender. Moreover, the close contacts with Anatolia and the introduction of new material culture may have had an impact on the earlier symbolic 'vocabulary', part of which was also anthropomorphic figurines. Rather than seeing the end of the birthing symbolism as a decline of women's status,<sup>62</sup> especially in the light of criticisms raised earlier, I suggest that we view the changes of the Late Chalcolithic within the context of the social developments raised above. At a time when lineages forming the elite groups may have held a prominent social role, gender

identities and roles may have reached a phase of consolidation with the maintenance and communication of social status holding precedence.

### Figurines and gender in the Early Bronze Age: the cases of Crete and Cyprus

Evidence of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) from Crete indicates a tradition of figurine production that continued unbroken from the Neolithic. Moreover, the number of recovered figurines suggests that their production and use became much more restricted, but wider in terms of distribution as more sites yielded figurines, than in the earlier period. The new patterns for figurine circulation imply a tighter control over their production, though the messages attached to them had a wider appeal. A number of other changes that distinguish figurines from the earlier Neolithic patterns can also be noted. As far as deposition is concerned, EBA figurines on Crete, after their cycle of use in living contexts (as indicated by their wear and marks of repair), were finally placed inside burials as grave goods. As Rowlands has argued, when symbolic objects are removed from circulation through processes such as interment, they then become a memory of the essence that needs to be remembered.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, EBA figurines were remembered for themselves and the fundamental emotions they could evoke; this has implications for the strategies in which figurines were employed as generators of collective memory. In fact, the collective context in which we need to view EBA figurines on Crete is confirmed by their wide deposition at a number of communal burials, the arrangement and use of

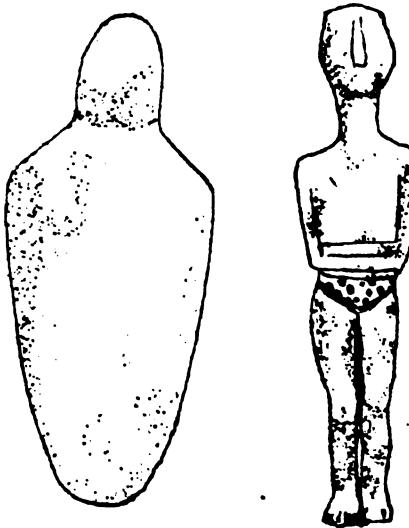


Fig. 9. Examples of EBA anthropomorphic figurines from Crete.  
(Drawings by the author after Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, pl. 26c and Sakellarakis 1974, pl. 285a.)

which have been interpreted as indicating a society that was organised on the basis of village clans.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the way in which figurines and the ideological messages they embodied were interwoven with the socio-economic fabric of society is supported by their association with rich burials and prestige objects, as in the case of Phourni at Archanes.<sup>65</sup> In addition, the shift in the use of figurines towards distinctive funerary contexts, also suggests increasing control over their production and use, but also indicates an added element of mysticism that was attached to them as part of a formalised ideological system.

If we now turn our attention to the modelling and represented theme of the figurines themselves, a number of differences from the Neolithic sample become apparent. The first difference relates to the technological processes behind the manufacture of EBA figu-

rines, which display a limited degree of individualism and a significant level of standardisation and formalised traits, as well as emulation of their Cycladic counterparts (Fig. 9). An element of neutrality expressed through the modelling of the human physical body is also related to the regularised forms of figurines, which has implications for the understanding of the social meanings they expressed. Though in the Neolithic period the majority of figurines represented *Female* specimens, the EBA sample shows a clear predominance of *Asexual* types, while the *Male* and *Ambiguous* varieties are absent (Fig. 10). The postural repertoire of figurines also confirms the same pattern as they lack the emphasis on the breast or pubic area; instead figurines were highly standardised in form and the majority of them were modelled with their arms folded on their abdomen. This anatomical neutrality of the EBA figurines can be explained to some extent as a result of the intention of the craftsman to represent them as clothed, thus concealing their physical body. That would also explain why the majority of *Asexual* figurines were marked with the addition of carved or incised details that denoted attire and jewellery (Fig. 11). Though we know from traces left on figurines that they were decorated with vibrant colours, and that body decoration was common practice,<sup>66</sup> also supported by pigment contained in burials in the Aegean,<sup>67</sup> the majority of modelled details indicate a shift towards attire, rather than body decoration, as embodying expressions of gender.

It is clear, therefore, that though figurines continued to be produced in the EBA period on Crete, the

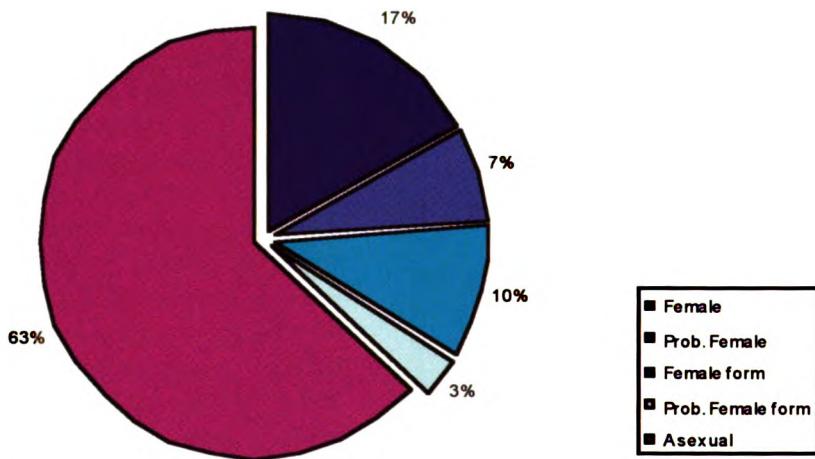


Fig. 10. Proportion of EBA Cretan figurines according to categories.

changes associated with their manufacture, the represented theme and deposition imply that not only was gender performed differently, but also that figurines were employed for the reinforcement of social and group identity as an inbuilt feature of collective rituals. The use of figurines, therefore, needs to be viewed in the new socio-economic context of EBA culture, which was characterised by the emergence of clans and lineages.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, evidence reveals a more complex pattern of social organisa-

tion with signs of social differentiation,<sup>69</sup> especially at the large formally ordered societies, such as Knossos.<sup>70</sup> Social differentiation is indicated by the 'mansions' at Vasiliki and Fournou Korifi,<sup>71</sup> but is also attested by the evidence for rich burials<sup>72</sup> and ritualised legitimisation of the elite over human and physical resources.<sup>73</sup>

I propose, therefore, that in the EBA cultural context figurines on Crete were employed foremost for the expression of social status or community identity. It is possible that in

a context where lineages played a prominent role, gender was relevant in relation to descent and bloodlines. As a result we may envisage a higher consolidation at the level of gender than in the Neolithic period and even more distinct gender roles, which would have ensured lineage propagation and descent in a controlled manner. The higher standardisation of anthropomorphic form, therefore, may be indicative of the prominence of social status and lineage affiliation over gender.<sup>74</sup> Figurines' representation as static personae with a more formalised appearance implies that social status transcended gender identity, as indicated by the use of figurines as prestige items.<sup>75</sup> We need to bear in mind, however, that evidence throughout the Aegean indicates an equal access to wealth for both genders and that gender dynamics in smaller-scale communities may have been less formalised and more 'Neolithic' in nature than the more extensive sites on Crete.<sup>76</sup>

On Cyprus, for the greater part of the EBA period, there is an absence of figurines from the archaeological record which may be indicating a break from the earlier ideological and thus social order of the Chalcolithic period. We may need to envisage, therefore, a shift in social organisation, which was very likely, related to the new *habitus* of the Philia culture and a differing ethos surrounding gender relationships and dynamics. The distinct elements of the Philia culture are attested in the realm of funerary traditions of collective burials, but also in the organisation of the households, as suggested by spatial organisation that indicates a shift from extended polygynous family

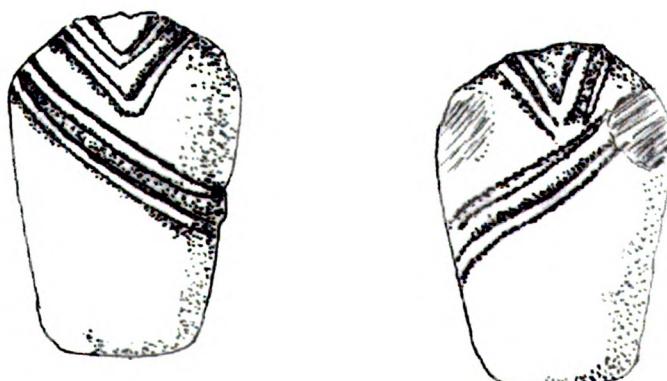


Fig. 11. Example of EBA figurine from Crete represented as clothed. (Drawing by the author after Evans 1928, figs 13b1 & 13b2.)



Fig. 12. Example of EBA anthropomorphic symbolism of Cyprus. (Drawing by the author after Karageorghis 2003, no. 45.)

compounds to monogamous nuclear or extended family households.<sup>77</sup> Given the new lineage or family-based society of Cyprus, gender roles may have reached a level of consolidation that would ensure kin propagation and may thus explain the absence of anthropomorphic symbolism. Alternatively, the expression of social status was likely to have been effectively communicated through the manipulation of categories of personal material culture, including metal or other prestige goods, used to furnish rich Philia burials.<sup>78</sup>

Following the earlier phase of the EBA, the manufacture of anthropomorphic symbolism picks up again at the end of the EBA, different in form, and possibly related to Anatolian influences.<sup>79</sup> Anthropomorphic symbolism on Cyprus took two forms: plank figurines and genre scenes attached to

clay vessels (Fig. 12). The EBA period is characterised as a phase of isolation and assimilation of Anatolian cultural traits,<sup>80</sup> which urges us to view the re-emergence of figurine production as a result of internal processes, at a time characterised by emergent social complexity and differentiation.<sup>81</sup> It is within the context of new social order that we need to consider plank figurines, which display a high degree of standardisation, though comparable to that of picrolite figurines of the Chalcolithic.<sup>82</sup> The formalised stylistic representation of plank figurines was expressed in their standardised shape and depiction of attire in the form of motifs. Another departure from the earlier period is that the modelling of anatomical details and male or female genitalia is very rare, apart from the representation of breasts, which was more common. This asexuality that characterises plank figurines, as I have already argued for their Cretan counterparts, should be linked to the intention of prehistoric people to represent them as clothed individuals. The articulate modelling of motifs which denoted garments and jewellery, therefore, indicates that social and gender identity were constructed through media that were the products of technologies that may have required a longer and more controlled process of manufacture, as is the case of metalworking and textile manufacture, which implies that social and gender identity was mutually dependent. Contrasting to the standardisation of plank figurines, genre scenes display a much higher degree of fluidity and freedom of form, and the modelling of anatomical details is more common, lacking the emphasis on the depiction of elaborate costumes.

As far as thematic representation is concerned, a number of plank figurines were modelled as *kourotrophoi* cradling infants, while the modelling of children is also a repeated theme in genre scenes. Genre scenes were also intended to represent domestic and industrial activities, as well as tasks related to animals, and they were associated both with sexed and unsexed figures. The representation of women as *kourotrophoi*, as well as the association of female figures with domestic activities, have provided the basis for interpretations that propose a decline of female social status as a consequence of the emerging patriarchy.<sup>83</sup> I believe, however, that a more careful attention to the evidence is needed before we can construct such narratives. Firstly, as Talalay and Cullen have pointed out,<sup>84</sup> breasts are not modelled on all plank figurines representing *kourotrophoi*, but also the majority of female plank figurines are not modelled as *kourotrophoi*,<sup>85</sup> casting doubts that a straightforward link between women and childrearing can be drawn. Secondly, infants modelled in genre scenes do not show an exclusive link with women.<sup>86</sup> Finally, as Frankel has rightly argued,<sup>87</sup> there is no reason why the association between women as child-rearers should be equated with a loss of status. Other criticisms can be directed towards the argument that genre scenes indicate a labour division between genders and thus a low social status for women through their association with domestic activities. The identification of figures in genre scenes as male or female is problematic because many of them were modelled as asexual and their association with specific tasks is even more enigmatic.<sup>88</sup> In addition,

the modelling of figures performing tasks side-by-side is more a sign of a society that relied on complimentary, rather than competing gender roles. I would also add that gender labour division is not as unproblematic as it has been presented, and its association with ideas of male dominance or female subordination assumes gender exclusion from specific tasks when in fact it is more appropriate to think of stages and degrees of gender involvement in all labour domains.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, attributing a low status to domestic activities, and in turn women, reveals another problematic aspect of the male dominance argument.

Summing up, I would argue that there is no convincing case for the rise of patriarchy and decline of female status in the light of figurine or other types of evidence in the EBA period. Towards the end of the period when perhaps lineage groups ensured their social standing, it is possible that plank figurines were employed in order to express static personae, the standardisation of which indicates an intention to reinforce social messages, but also to place more emphasis on constructed social identities and gender class at a secondary level. Gender did continue to play an important role, since the represented hairstyles and actual attire also signified gender status, but was perhaps based more on the constructed social body, than on an emphasis of its corporeal capacity. The link between plank figurines and the expression of social status is further supported by the evidence of EBA society which suggests organisation along the axis of kinship,<sup>90</sup> but also by the evidence for some degree of differentiation that is indicated by rich burials,<sup>91</sup> part of which were also

plank figurines.<sup>92</sup> Though EBA society remained fairly egalitarian,<sup>93</sup> the continuation of a successful kin group through legitimate heirs (expressed in the modelling of infants) was of paramount importance and the expression of such communal identity through figurines served to reinforce such messages.<sup>94</sup> Genre scenes were similarly employed to project ideas related to prosperity through labour and productivity, but as the figures are less static than plank figurines, we can detect a prime focus on more realistic, active roles of individuals as part of a family and kin group which explains the lack of motifs that would express social identity through attire. Moreover, the mysticism in which they were enveloped as part of funerary traditions and their removal from circulation highlight the intention of certain kin groups to legitimise and reinforce their social status. Finally, it is important to stress that, as with the evidence from the Aegean, we cannot argue for gender hierarchy, though it is possible that gender identities became more fixed (if not polarised), as indicated by the emergence of a wide range of personal material culture<sup>95</sup> and the parallel depiction of elaborate costumes, body decoration motifs and hairstyles on plank figurines.

### Conclusion

The study of figurines through a comparative analysis has uncovered some of the ways in which anthropomorphic symbolisms can offer insights into social organisation and the construction of prehistoric social identities. Furthermore, examining the impetus behind the production and circulation of figurines can reveal the active processes behind the sha-

ping of social and gender identities in prehistoric societies. Moreover, the discussion has brought to the forefront the importance of gender for the understanding of social and economic organisation and the resulting implications for the interpretative models put forward for prehistoric societies. Additionally, the analysis of figurines and the discussion of their associated cultural context in a comparative framework has demonstrated the problematic nature of models that project onto prehistory a shift from a simple Neolithic to a complex and patriarchal EBA society. Despite the varying degrees of gender negotiation, the evidence from both Crete and Cyprus does not support the emergence of male dominance in the EBA, which proves to be chronologically premature and problematic on a number of levels. Nevertheless, evidence from Crete and Cyprus indicates distinct paths of social complexity, which urges us against using preconceived social narratives or assuming unilinear patterns of development for the eastern Mediterranean. In fact, both islands exhibit elements of complex and fluctuating processes that structured gender and social relations and which did not always coincide chronologically or technologically. The comparative analysis of the two islands has revealed that assuming an *a priori* model to interpret gender roles and dynamics in prehistoric societies appears to be a shortsighted view of a process that is far more complex, and which therefore calls for an analysis of 'higher resolution' that is sensitive to idiosyncratic cultural developments.

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### NOTES

- 1 Swiny 1997.
- 2 Broodbank 2000, 26.
- 3 Broodbank 2000, 18; Clarke 2003; Finlayson 2004.
- 4 Mina [b] forthcoming.
- 5 Mina [b] forthcoming.
- 6 Aalten 1997; Gatens 1992, 298; Lindemann 1997; MacRae 1975.
- 7 Moore 1994, 325.
- 8 Hatcher 1985; Tanner 1992.
- 9 Hatcher 1985; Tilley 1989, 189; Wolff 1993.
- 10 See Knappet 2002, 100–1.
- 11 Rowlands 1993.
- 12 Rowlands 1993, 142, 144.
- 13 Rowlands 1993, 142.
- 14 Rowlands 1993, 146.
- 15 Fraser 1971.
- 16 Bolger 2003, 85; a Campo 1994; Dikaios 1953; Karageorghis et al. 2003; Le Brun 1997.
- 17 Evans 1964.
- 18 Triantaphyllou forthcoming.
- 19 Steel 2004, 52.
- 20 Steel 2004, 56.
- 21 Peltenburg 2004.
- 22 Watrous 2001, 162.
- 23 Mina [a] forthcoming.
- 24 Mina [a] forthcoming.
- 25 Mina [b] forthcoming.
- 26 Peltenburg 1993.
- 27 Whitelaw forthcoming.
- 28 Tomkins 2004.
- 29 Steel 2004, 68.
- 30 Vagnetti & Belli 1978.
- 31 Steel 2004, 78–79.
- 32 Mina [a] forthcoming.
- 33 Herdt 1994, 80.
- 34 Clarke 2003.
- 35 Peltenburg 1993.
- 36 See Peltenburg 1993, 2004.
- 37 Mina [a] forthcoming.
- 38 Mina [a] forthcoming.
- 39 Watrous 2001, 162.
- 40 Evans 1964.
- 41 Tomkins 2004.
- 42 Vagnetti & Belli 1978.
- 43 Bolger 2003, 86.
- 44 Goring 1991a, 1998, 2003; Steel 2004, 99.
- 45 Steel 2004, 101, 102.
- 46 See Bolger 2002, 2003; Peltenburg 2002; Steel 2004, 101.
- 47 Bolger 2002, 2003; Peltenburg 2002; Steel 2004, 89, 95, 98.
- 48 Bolger 2003, 105; Peltenburg 2002.
- 49 Bolger 2002, 76.
- 50 Bolger 2002, 77–81; Bolger 2003, 105; Peltenburg 2002.
- 51 Meskell & Knapp 1997.
- 52 Bolger 2003, 117.
- 53 See Wason 1994, 105.
- 54 Bolger 2002, 77.
- 55 Steel 2004, 83, 80.
- 56 Bolger 2002, 67.
- 57 See Mina [b] forthcoming for the Aegean.
- 58 See Talalay 1991.
- 59 Bolger 2002, 78; Steel 2004, 116.
- 60 Peltenburg 1993 contra Knapp 1993.
- 61 Manning 1993.
- 62 Bolger 2002, 77–81; Peltenburg 2002, 59.
- 63 Rowlands 1993, 146.
- 64 Blackman & Branigan 1973; Branigan 1988.
- 65 Maggidis 1998, 94–95.
- 66 Papadatos 2003, 286.
- 67 Broodbank 2000, 249.
- 68 Blackman & Branigan 1973; Branigan 1988.
- 69 Branigan 1988; Haggis 1999.
- 70 Whitelaw 1983, 339.
- 71 Branigan 1988.
- 72 Soles 1988.
- 73 Murphy 1998.
- 74 Mina [b] forthcoming.
- 75 Hendrix 1998, 8; Maggidis 1998, 94–5; Mina [b] forthcoming; Mpirtacha 2003, 263.
- 76 Mina [b] forthcoming.
- 77 Keswani 2004, 148.
- 78 Keswani 2004, 83.
- 79 Frankel 1997, 84; Frankel et al. 1996; Steel 2004, 127.
- 80 Frankel 2000.
- 81 Knapp 1993; Peltenburg 1993.
- 82 Frankel 1997.
- 83 Bolger 1996, 371; Bolger 2003, 106–107.
- 84 Talalay & Cullen 2002.
- 85 Frankel 1997.
- 86 Ribeiro 2002, 204–205.
- 87 Frankel 1997.
- 88 Ribeiro 2002, 199, 200.
- 89 Sørensen 1996.
- 90 Bolger 2002, 81; Steel 2004, 139.
- 91 Steel 2004, 142.
- 92 Bolger 2003, 107.
- 93 Steel 2004, 142.
- 94 See also Ribeiro 2002; Talalay & Cullen 2002.
- 95 Steel 2004, 122; Keswani 2004, 151.

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# THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION AT MARION: A REASSESSMENT OF THE TOMB-FIELDS AT KAPARKA AND EVRETHADES

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In 1929, from March through July, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (hereafter SCE) explored the ancient remains in close vicinity to the village of Polis tis Khrysokhou. The main aim of the expedition was to determine the location of ancient Marion.<sup>1</sup> Literary and archaeological accounts testify that Marion had been a thriving city during the Archaic and Classical periods until Ptolemy Soter destroyed it in 312 BC and subsequently transferred its inhabitants to Paphos. In c. 270 BC, Ptolemy Philadelphos founded a new city in the area, which he called Arsinoe.<sup>2</sup> Gjerstad and his team could easily recognize the remains of this younger city on the northern side of the village of Polis tis Khrysokhou, but the identification of Marion proved to be more problematic. Ohnefalsch-Richter, who investigated the area in 1885 and 1886, had suggested – mainly based on his analysis of the western and eastern tomb-fields – that there were two older cities: one below Arsinoe and an older one c. 1.5 km further to the east. In a twofold hypothesis, he argued that either both these sites must be identified with Marion, whereby the settlement shifted in the 6th century BC from the east to the west, or that Marion was lying below

Arsinoe and that it coexisted with an older, unknown city situated to the east.<sup>3</sup> In order to clarify the matter, the Swedish archaeologists made trial trenches in the east and in the west. The lowest levels of the western trenches yielded sherds of the late Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, proving that the area of Arsinoe had been inhabited during these periods. In the east, however, the Swedes only found Roman remains, which left the presence of Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic artefacts in the nearby tombs a puzzling issue.<sup>4</sup>

## The investigation of the tomb-fields

Next to the research of the settlement, the SCE team excavated 98 tombs in the nearby necropoleis: 3 at *Sikarka-Kokkina* (T. 1–3), 10 at *Potamos tou Myrmikof* (T. 4–13), 48 at *Kaparka* (T. 14–61), and 37 at *Evrethades* (T. 62–98). The Swedes were not the first to investigate the tomb-fields associated with ancient Marion and Arsinoe: besides lucrative visits by tomb-looters, the necropoleis were already explored by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1885 and 1886,<sup>5</sup> followed by a British team on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund (hereafter CEF) in 1889 and

1890,<sup>6</sup> and by representatives of the authorities of antiquities in Cyprus in the latter half of the 1910's.<sup>7</sup>

In 1885, Ohnefalsch-Richter opened a first tomb south of the village of Polis tis Khrysokhou as well as an undefined number at *Kaparka* and on a plot more to the east, which became afterwards known under the name of its subsequent owner, i.e., 'Mr Williamson's Vineyard'. The following year, Ohnefalsch-Richter examined 127 tombs at *Hagios Demetrios* (site I), 261 on the eastern plot (site II), and 53 somewhat to the north of *Hagios Demetrios* (site III).<sup>8</sup> He considered his sites I and III together with the tombs at *Kaparka* to be part of a single cemetery in the west, while site II was part of an eastern necropolis.<sup>9</sup> Since he had only found tombs dated to the end of the 7th century BC and the beginning of 6th century BC in the eastern necropolis, Ohnefalsch-Richter argued that the oldest tombs were situated nearby the older settlement and that during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, the cemetery progressively stretched out towards the west. He further maintained that in Hellenistic and Roman times, the growth of the cemetery took a reverse direction, when the people of Arsinoe started

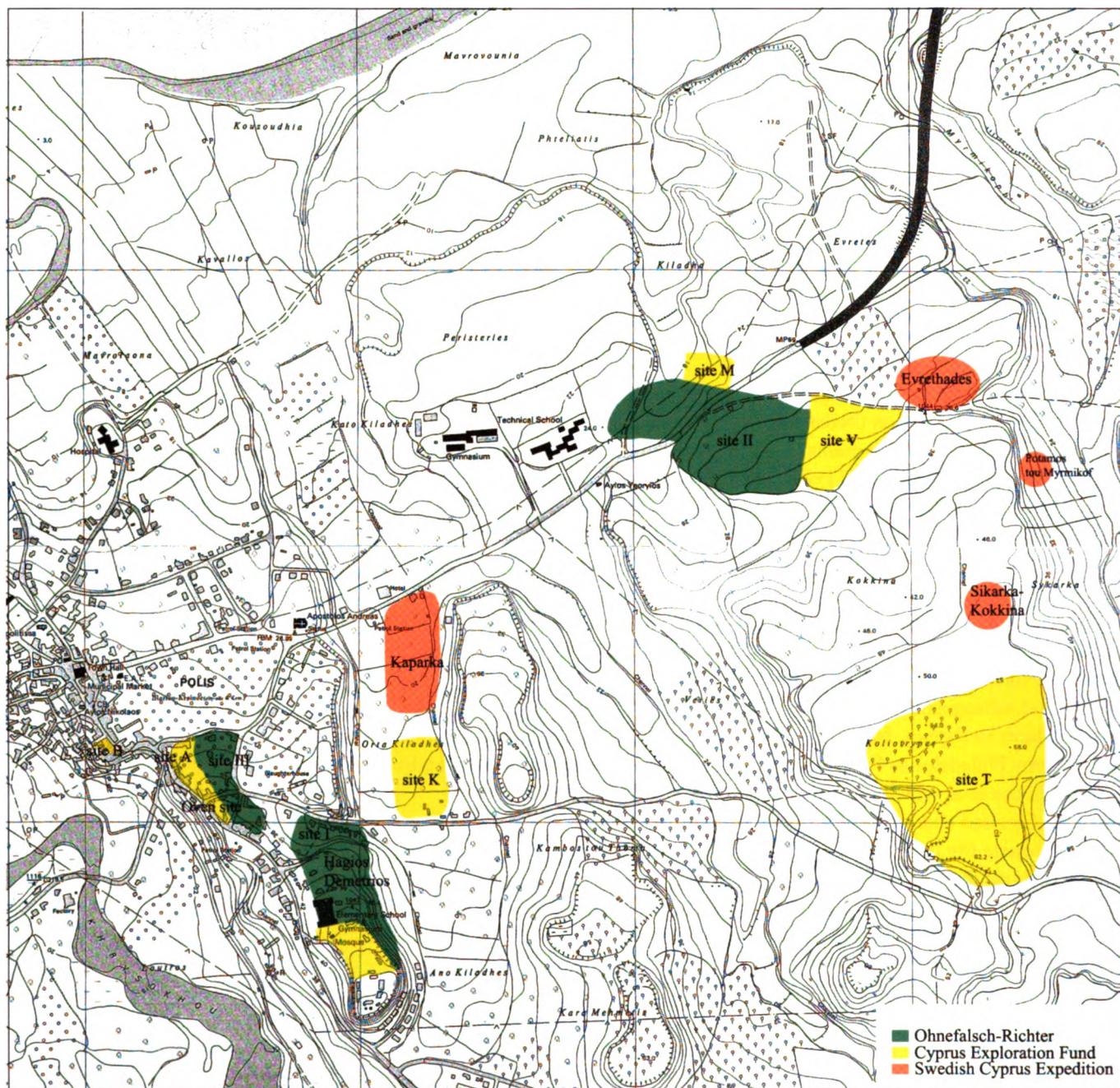


Fig. 1. Approximate location of the excavated tomb-fields (after the topographical map series D.L.S. 17, sheet 26/XXVII & part of 26/XIX, edition 1982).

burying their dead near the city walls, after which the necropolis gradually extended to the south and to the east. We assume that Ohnefalsch-Richter merely intended this hypothesis as an indication of a general trend, since he also mentioned the presence of 6th century BC tombs in the west and Hellenistic ones in the east.<sup>10</sup>

In 1889, the CEF team excavated c. 200 tombs, but only recorded 165 'productive' ones, since they chose to ignore those graves that only contained "broken pottery, etc., of the coarsest and commonest varieties utterly devoid of all interest and value".<sup>11</sup> Like Ohnfalsch-Richter, the British excavators discerned a western and an eastern necropolis. In the western cemetery – where they opened at least 154 tombs – they explored five parcels: *Kaparka* (site K), *Hagios Demetrios*, two plots adjacent to Ohnfalsch-Richter's site III, which they dubbed 'oven site' and 'site A', and a fifth plot, site B, to the west of their site A. In the east – which yielded a total of at least 11 tombs – the CEF team carried out excavations within Williamson's vineyard (site V), as well as in a nearby parcel, site M, and in a third one more to the south, site T (Fig. 1).<sup>12</sup> In the following year, they opened 80 more tombs: 56 in the eastern necropolis (site T) and 24 in the western necropolis, more precisely in a piece of land that coincides with Ohnfalsch-Richter's site III. While their first report disagreed with Ohnfalsch-Richter about a different chronology for the two necropoleis, the British archaeologists retracted their initial conclusions in their second report by acknowledging that the eastern necropolis was mainly connected with the older settlement

of Marion, and the western one with Arsinoe. They emphasized, however, that there was no clear-cut separation of older and younger tombs anywhere and that therefore both cemeteries were equally used by the people of Marion and Arsinoe.<sup>13</sup>

SCE explored more parts of both the western and the eastern cemeteries in 1929. The position of the parcels that the Swedes investigated is shown in Fig. 1. In the western necropolis, they carried out excavations at *Karpacka*, more specifically at "about 150 m to the north of the area already excavated and advancing in the same direction".<sup>14</sup> In the eastern necropolis, their excavation site at *Sikarka-Kokkina* likely coincides with the northern part of the British site T – the latter extending further to *Koliotypes* in the south. According to Gjer-

stad, their second eastern site, *Potamos tou Myrmikof*, was situated about 300 m north-east of *Sikarka-Kokkina*,<sup>15</sup> which implies that it was on the hill-slope west of the river Myrmikof. Its location is probably east of the British site V, although not lying adjacent to it. *Evrethades*, their last excavation site in the eastern necropolis, was "situated closely to the Nicosia road not far from the site called "Ampelli tou Englezou" where excavations were carried on by Ohnafalsch-Richter and Munro and Tubbs."<sup>16</sup> 'Ampelli tou Englezou' refers to Williamson's vineyard, which corresponds to Ohnafalsch-Richter's site II and the British site V. Possibly, the Swedes carried out excavations south of the present road to Pomos and north to north-east of the British site V. Stem-and-leaf diagrams of the dates of all the investigated tombs

FIG. 2: Eastern tomb-fields (Eyrethadesa, Potamos tou Myrmikof, Sikarka-Kokkina)

Fig. 2. Eastern tomb fields (Evretades, Potamos tou Myrmikof, Sikarka-Kokkina)

FIG. 3: Western tomb-field (Kaparka).

Fig. 3. Western tomb field (Kaparka).



Fig. 4. Evrethades in CA I (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 3).

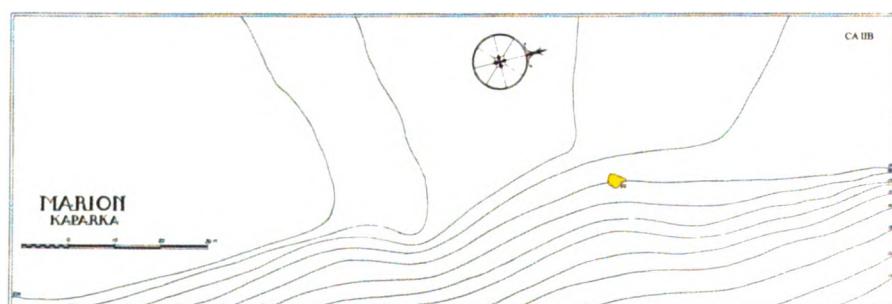


Fig. 5. Kaparka in CA II (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 4).

show that the Swedish exploration of the tomb-fields confirm the 19th century researchers' view that the eastern necropolis is older than the western one, but that both cemeteries were in use from the end of the 6th century BC onwards (Fig. 2–3). Does this make the SCE research at Marion redundant? Certainly not, for there is one important aspect which makes the SCE excavations significantly different from the Ohnafalsch-Richter and CEF campaigns, i.e. the recording and the subsequent publication of the investigated tombs. Whereas the 19th century scholars only discussed a selection of finds with limited context information, Gjerstad and his team meticulously recorded and published all the finds in relation to the complete tomb context. For every tomb, the reader finds discussions on the construction, the stratigraphy and the burials – information, which is further supported by plans and section drawings. In addition, the SCE account is the first to include maps of the investigated tomb-fields.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, the SCE excavations report offers an important surplus value for later generations of archaeologists, since the recorded data can still be re-examined in the framework of new research threads. In the following sections we shall reassess several aspects of the SCE data on the tomb-fields, in order to verify whether we can infer new information on how the inhabitants of the area treated their dead during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods.

#### Topographical distribution of the tombs

Ohnafalsch-Richter's distinction of a western and an eastern necropolis

was adopted by all the following scholars who examined the area of Marion and Arsinoe. But are there really two topographically distinct necropoleis or should we rather consider the area between the remains of the western and eastern settlements as one vast burial ground characterized by scattered tomb groups? In the west, *Kaparka* could possibly form a continuous cemetery together with the British sites A and B and Ohnafalsch-Richter's sites I and III. In the east, *Evrethades*, Ohnafalsch-Richter's site II and the British site V are perhaps also part of one cemetery. But did the latter extend to *Potamos tou Myrmikof* and *Sikarka-Kokkina*? And what about the funerary use of the area in between the western and eastern burial grounds, i.e. *Kambos tou Thoma* and *Veries*?<sup>18</sup> Without a new, thorough survey of the entire area, it will remain difficult to answer the above questions. Nevertheless, some light can be shed on the way the people of Marion and Arsinoe used their burial grounds by examining the maps of the tomb-fields excavated by SCE.<sup>19</sup> Fig. 4-10 show the tomb-fields at *Kaparka* and *Evrethades* during the CA I, CA II, CC I and CC II periods respectively. Generally, it is possible to discern one or more patterns in the organization of a cemetery,<sup>20</sup> but at first glance, the tombs at *Kaparka* and *Evrethades* were apparently cut at random: not only do we observe a variety of possible tomb orientations, but we also notice that tombs could equally be dug in virgin areas as well as being squeezed in between older graves. However, when we examine the maps of the different sub-periods more closely, another image begins to emerge, seeing that most of the burial

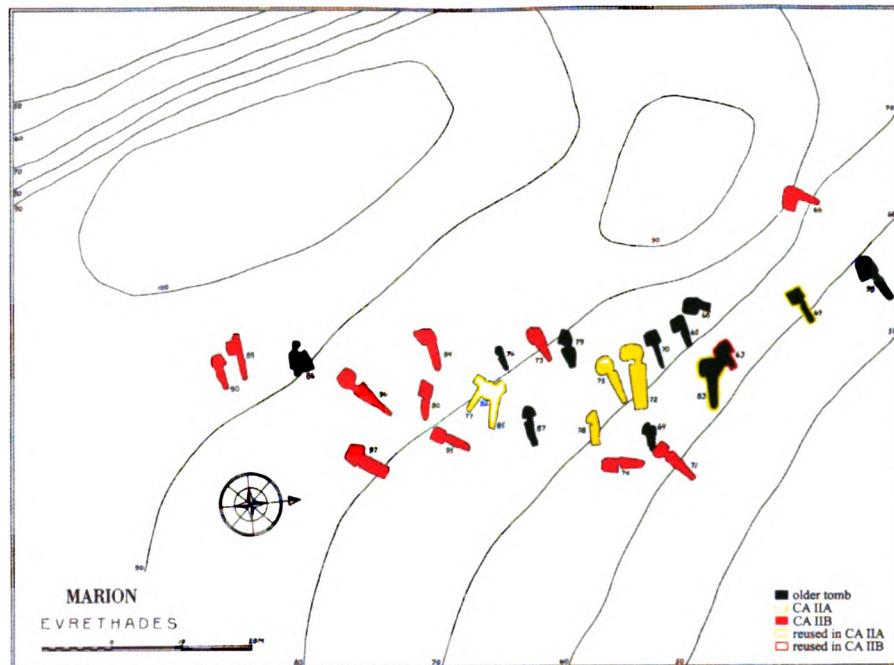


Fig. 6. Evrethades in CA II (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 3).

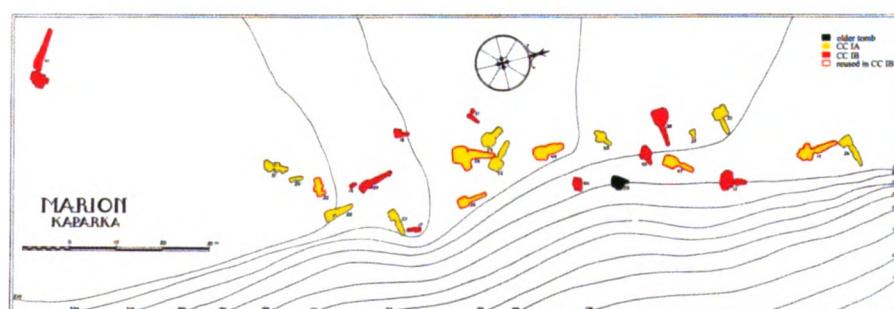


Fig. 7. Kaparka in CC I (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 4)

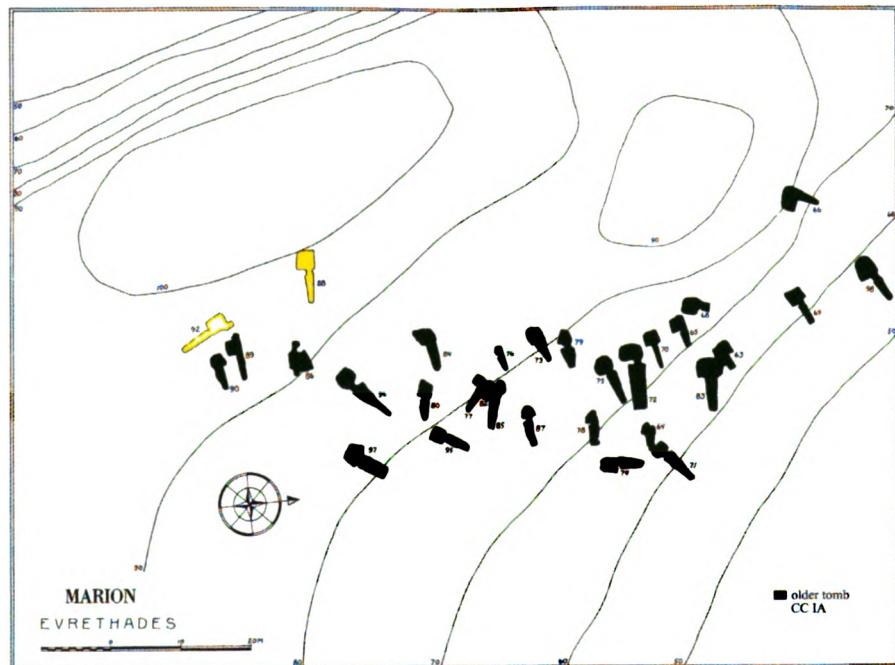


Fig. 8. Evrethades in CC I (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 3)



Fig. 9. Kaparka in CC II (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 4).

places are organized in clusters. In a given period, three possible scenarios can be distinguished: a group of tombs is dug on a new spot,<sup>21</sup> a grave is laid within an existing tomb cluster,<sup>22</sup> or an existing tomb is reused.<sup>23</sup> Some graves seem not to obey this dynamics of clustering, for they were dug on isolated spots. Yet, when we look at the tomb-field in a following period, we observe that these graves usually form the nucleus of a new tomb cluster.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the development of the tomb-fields was not random, but rather was determined by the dynamics of multiple tomb clusters. This type of purposeful organization of burial grounds can possibly be explained in terms of kinship structure, since it is conceivable that particularly relatives wished to be buried together on a specific burial ground, if not in the same tomb. If this hypothesis is correct, it also explains why graves were found lying adjacent to tombs of earlier periods. Returning now to our initial question, it seems possible to assume that the people of Marion and Arsinoe did not distinguish two separate necropoleis, but that instead they regarded the entire area between the western and eastern settlements as potential burial ground. So, probably the location of a new tomb would essentially be determined by the location of the burial places of deceased family members.

#### Skeletal remains

None of the human bones that SCE found in the tomb-fields of Marion and Arsinoe were osteologically examined. Nonetheless, in many instances Gjerstad distinguished male and female interments – even when the dead body was completely reduced to

a layer of burial earth. The Swedish scholar based his sex determinations entirely on preconceived gender associations of artefacts: jewellery – especially hair- and earrings – mirrors and pigment-rods were indiscriminately interpreted as pointers of female interments,<sup>25</sup> while *strigils* and knives were used as the main indicators of male burials.<sup>26</sup> If the latter tombs further contained tools and weaponry such as axes, daggers and arrowheads, then the males even turned into warriors!<sup>27</sup> Using categories of tomb gifts for the sex determination of skeletal remains was a common practice in the earlier part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, however, physical anthropologists have pointed out that this is anything but a waterproof method, as males can be found adorned with jewellery and hair-rings,<sup>28</sup> while female bodies may be provided with weapons.<sup>29</sup> The SCE report is therefore not a suitable instrument for inferring possible, gender-based differences in funerary rites. Conversely, the SCE statements of child bones in the tombs may probably be regarded as reliable data, which can be used for the study of divergent mortuary practices according to age categories.<sup>30</sup>

When reading Gjerstad's notes on the burials in all the excavated tombs, it is striking to observe that only in a few instances skeletons were fairly well preserved. Often a layer of burial earth was the only reminiscence of the dead body. Many of the tombs intermittently suffered from water infiltration and these unfavourable environmental conditions have certainly influenced the preservation of the human relics in a negative way. Nevertheless, in some instances we wonder whether the low amount or even com-

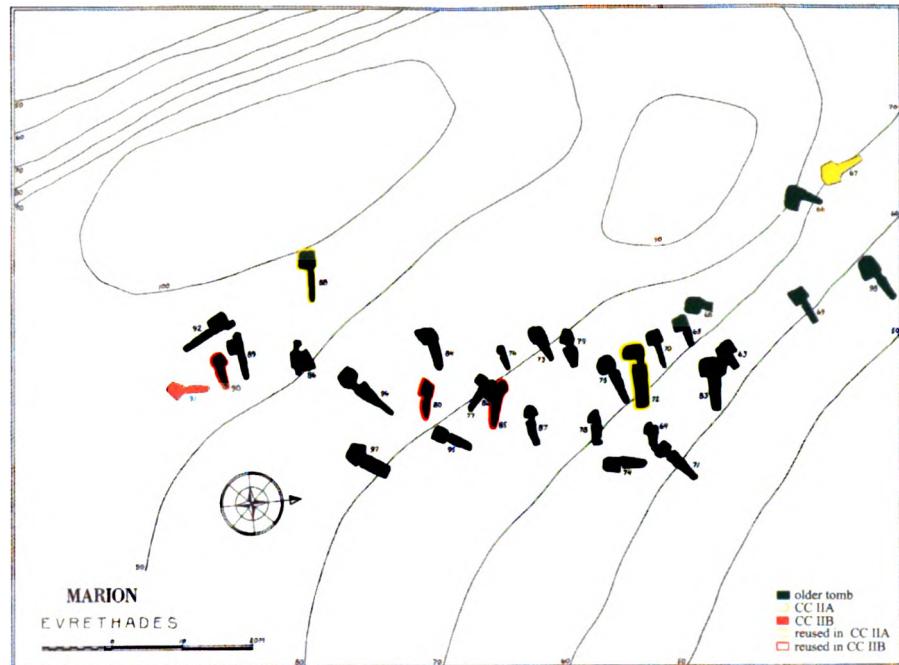


Fig. 10. Evrethades in CC II (after Gjerstad 1935, plan III, 3).

plete lack of skeletal remains should not be explained in an alternative way, i.e. as the result of a secondary funerary treatment of the relics. In tomb 57, for instance, most of the finds were concentrated in a corner associated to a body in the southern niche, while the niches in the north and the east were empty and – except for one jug – completely devoid of gifts; six vases were further found in the *dromos* near the *stomion*. According to Gjerstad, tomb 57 was looted in antiquity: the robbers had cleared the chamber of its finds in the northern and eastern part, after which they made expiation to the dead by placing tomb-gifts in the *dromos*.<sup>31</sup> The idea of remorse-

ful tomb-looters offering gifts in the *dromos* is perhaps to be regarded with some scepticism, yet it is also highly unlikely that robbers would ignore all the golden and gilded jewellery on the body in the southern niche. This leads us to an alternative explanation for the situation in tomb 57, i.e. that all the burial remains were removed from the northern and eastern niches at the time of the interment of the person in the southern niche. What happened to the relics after their removal from the tomb unfortunately remains an unsolved matter. In other tombs, however, the SCE team observed several examples of secondary funerary treatment: earlier burial

remains were either removed to the side (e.g. tomb 23), placed in ossuary shafts cut in the floor of the chamber (tombs 80 and 83), or put in amphorae (tomb 69). Finally, indications of other mortuary practices can perhaps be detected in tombs 17, 24, 35 and 93. All four of these graves are significantly smaller than the average tomb at *Kaparka* and *Evrethades*. Based on the small dimensions of tombs 17 and 24 Gjerstad suggested that they were probably used for a child's interment, although no human bones were found in them. In fact none of these four tombs showed traces of skeletal remains or even burial earth. Moreover, they only contained a limited amount of pottery.<sup>32</sup> We may therefore wonder if these tombs were ever intended as permanent burial places. Alternatively, they could have been used as temporary mortuary facilities, where the dead were treated or kept until the time when they were transferred to their final burial place.

### Funerary gifts

A study of the funerary gifts in relation to their position in the tombs may elucidate some aspects of the funerary customs applied by the people of ancient Marion and Arsinoe. Typical of the Cypro-Classical period, for instance, are the large terracotta statues of which examples were already unearthed by Ohnefalsch-Richter.<sup>33</sup> Although the latter scholar reported that he found these large terracottas in the *dromos* of the tombs, Gjerstad's account of the SCE excavations enlightens us with more information about their precise location in the tomb structures. Moreover, we notice that in spite of the considerable amount of funerary sculpture

from Marion/Arsinoe that may now be admired in museums on Cyprus and abroad,<sup>34</sup> these statues were only associated with a limited number of tombs. After all, SCE only found traces of this funerary practice in three of the 98 investigated tombs. In tomb 72, fragments of terracotta sculptures were detected in the filling of the *dromos*, but perhaps the complete statues were once standing on the bases that were cut in the rock on either side of the *stomion*. In tomb 53, loose stones, which could have served as bases for the statues, were found intermixed with terracotta fragments in the filling of a *dromos* shaft dug by tomb-looters. According to Gjerstad the statues were originally placed on the surface above the tomb. Alternatively, the looters' shaft could have been a vertical extension of an original, shallower shaft in which the funerary sculptures were once lined up. Their original position would then be comparable to that of the better preserved examples in tomb 30, which is actually a shallow shaft dug above the chamber of a tomb excavated by the CEF team.<sup>35</sup> The SCE report thus informs us that the large funerary sculpture could either be placed at the entrance of the tomb, i.e. on either side of the *stomion*, or be lined up in a shallow shaft above the burial chamber.

Another characteristic type of artefact in the tomb assemblages of Marion and Arsinoe is the jug with plastic decoration on the shoulder. Based on the type of decoration, these jugs may be classified in two categories: the first shows one or two figurines that are either holding a juglet or touching a zoomorphic head, while the second group consists of jugs with a zoomorphic head, which

is most often a bovine representation. Both categories were created at Marion towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and continued to be produced until the beginning of the Hellenistic period. However, during the Cypro-Classical period other production centres emerged in the western part of Cyprus.<sup>36</sup> The conception of this type of artefact seems to coincide with a booming of the settlement in the CA II period, for we observe in this period a significant increase of the number of tombs,<sup>37</sup> as well as an increase of the size of the sanctuary at *Peristeries*.<sup>38</sup> Smith suggested that the CA II period may correspond to the establishment of Marion as an independent polity, presupposing that Marion was previously part of the kingdom of Paphos.<sup>39</sup> Does this imply that the jugs with plastic decoration on the shoulder were initially intended as a trademark of the new independent Marion? The answer is difficult to deduce from the tomb assemblages. At least, we may ascertain that the production did not come into being to counterweigh the influx of Attic pottery, since the comparison of the percentages of imported pottery in tombs, which include or do not include jugs with plastic decoration, do not show significant differences.<sup>40</sup> Further analysis indicates that it is most unlikely that the jugs with plastic decoration would be markers of divergences within the social stratigraphy of the ancient communities, seeing that, in the light of the presence or absence of metal objects, the comparison of the tomb assemblages, which include or do not include jugs with plastic decoration, does not allow to discern any significant differences in wealth.<sup>41</sup> Can other information be

inferred by looking at the position of the jugs with plastic decoration in the tombs? In three instances (tombs 57, 59 and 72), this type of jugs was placed with other vases in the *dromos* or in a cupboard that was cut out in the *dromos* wall, implying that they could be used in the funerary rites following the actual burial ceremony. When the jugs with plastic decoration appear among the tomb-gifts in the burial chamber, it is striking to notice that, if multiple examples are present, they are nearly always associated with a single interment per burial period.<sup>42</sup> Without additional information it is, however, impossible to assess the significance of this observation. We further notice that, except for jewellery, all the tomb-gifts are exclusively placed next to the body and never on the body. This in contrast with for example the situation in the Paphos region, where in the two known instances of a jug with plastic decoration being associated with a specific interment, the jug was placed on the lower extremities of the deceased.<sup>43</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to make an in-depth regional comparison of the mortuary practices during the Cypro-Classical period,

but it seems plausible that regional differences did occur in at least some aspects of the funerary rites. Finally, we would like to test Herrmann's suggestion that the jugs with plastic decoration form a set together with wide bowls made in the same fabric.<sup>44</sup> In about half of the tombs comprising jugs with plastic decoration, the latter were found in a cluster, which also included wide bowls with a diameter above 20 cm.<sup>45</sup> Yet in c. 90% of the cases, the pottery clusters comprised smaller bowls or other open shapes,<sup>46</sup> which could imply that the jugs with plastic decoration were predominantly used for libation rites during either the burial ceremony or the subsequent funerary rites. However, since the jugs with plastic decoration were not systematically found together with wide bowls, we may dismiss the idea that both types of artefacts were intended to be used as a set.

### Conclusion

In the above sections, we have seen that more than 70 years after Gjerstad published the report of the SCE excavation campaign at Marion/Arsinoe, we may still deduce information from it in the light of new research

questions. The examination of the topographical distribution of the tombs showed that the organization of the tomb-fields was probably determined by kinship structures. By looking at the skeletal remains, we further detected different indications of secondary funerary treatment of the dead. Finally, we focused on two categories of funerary gifts, which are typical of the tomb-fields of Marion/Arsinoe, i.e. the large terracotta statues and the jugs with plastic decoration on the shoulder. Their examination within the respective tomb contexts allowed inferring some idiosyncrasies of the mortuary practices of the people that inhabited the area of the present village of Polis tis Khrysokhou during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods. Although at first sight, the SCE report only seems to confirm the older views of Ohnefalsch-Richter and the members of the British CEF team, it actually offers a significant surplus value in comparison to the work of these 19th century predecessors. Scholars of the 21st century will therefore continue to regard the SCE reports as a most useful starting point for the examination of new research threads.

### NOTES

- 1 Gjerstad 1935, 182-183.
- 2 E.g. Hirschfeld 1895; Oberhummer 1930; Masson 1961, 150-153; Childs 1988; Childs 1997; Childs 1999; Senff 1999.
- 3 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 504-508.
- 4 Gjerstad 1935, 183-184. According to the most recent investigations by Princeton University, Iron Age Marion is definitely situated in the area of the present village of Polis tis Chryso-

chou, below the remains of Hellenistic Arsinoe (Childs 1997, 42; Childs 1999, 223). The site was already occupied by the end of the Chalcolithic period (Childs 1997, 37) and continued to be so during the Bronze Age (Nikolaou 1964; Childs 1997, 39). Surveys of the wider region around Polis tis Chryso-chou have shown human activity from the Neolithic period (Adovasio et al. 1975) or at least the Chalcolithic

period onwards (e.g. Maliszewski, Elliott Xenophontos & Moore 2003; Maliszewski et al. 2003).

- 5 Herrmann 1888; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 500-515.

- 6 Munro & Tubbs 1890; Munro 1891.

- 7 In 1916, Markides excavated 50 tombs, but the results were never published; neither were the subsequent excavations by Gunnis (Gjerstad 1935, 184; Masson 1961, 153).

8 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 500-501, pl. CCXVIII.

9 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 501, 507.

10 Herrmann 1888, 11-12; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 506-508.

11 Munro & Tubbs 1890, 19.

12 See also Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CCXVIII.

13 Munro & Tubbs 1890, 59; Munro 1891, 327-329.

14 Gjerstad 1935, 219. *Kaparka* does not appear on the 1982 topographical map of the area around Polis tis Khrysokhou, but it was most probably located at *Orta Kiladhes*.

15 Gjerstad 1935, 189.

16 Gjerstad 1935, 366. *Evrethades* almost certainly equals *Evretes* on the topographical map of 1982.

17 Unfortunately, tomb 20 at *Kaparka* and tombs 62, 81, 93 and 94 at *Evrethades* were omitted on the overview maps.

18 The area map that is shown in the Marion Museum indicates that tombs were also spotted at *Veries*, but to my knowledge no reports have yet been published on these tombs.

19 Since the Swedes only excavated a limited amount of tombs at *Sikarka-Kokkina* and *Potamos tou Myrmikof*, this paper will mainly concentrate on the data of the two larger tomb-fields at *Kaparka* and *Evrethades*.

20 Parker Pearson 1999, 11-15.

21 E.g. tombs 65, 68 and 70 in the Cypro-Geometric period, tombs 77, 82 and 85 in CA IIA, tombs 80, 84, 95, 96 and 97 in CA IIB, and tombs 24, 28, 31 and 32 in CC IA.

22 E.g. tombs 72 and 75 joining the cluster of tombs 65, 68 and 70 in CA IIA, tombs 71 and 74 joining tomb 64 in CA IIB, tomb 92 joining the tombs 89 and 90 in CC IA, tombs 45, 52, 57 and 60 joining the cluster of tombs 44, 51, 56, 58 and 59 in CC IIA, tombs 21, 22 and 30 joining the cluster of tombs 17, 18, 19, 23 and 29 in CC IIB.

23 E.g. tomb 68 in CA IB, tomb 83 in CA IIA, tomb 63 in CA IIB, tomb 20 in CC IA, tomb 14 in CC IB, tomb 72 in CC IIA, tomb 85 in CC IIB.

24 E.g. tombs 41 and 47.

25 E.g. tombs 22, 26, 38, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 72, 79, 85 and 92 (Gjerstad 1935, 243, 254, 284, 306, 310, 314, 319, 321, 326, 336, 339, 344, 347, 359, 395, 413, 427, 441).

26 E.g. tombs 22, 29, 37, 44, 46, 47, 51, 55, 56, 58, 72 and 88 (Gjerstad 1935, 243, 259, 281, 306, 310, 314, 324, 336, 339, 347, 395, 433). In this respect it is moreover noteworthy that, when so-called male and female artefacts were found together, the male indicators were of overriding importance for the sex determination of the associated interment (e.g. tomb 62).

27 Tomb 43 (Gjerstad 1935, 301).

28 E.g. two males (skulls FCM 36 and 37) in tomb 13<sup>III</sup>/II at Ayios Iakovos (Fischer 1986, 33).

29 E.g. a female body in tomb 322B/1 at Lapithos (Fischer 1986, 29).

30 For a recent study on Cypriote child graves during the Iron Age, see Craps 2007.

31 Gjerstad 1935, 342-344.

32 Gjerstad 1935, 230-232 (tomb 17), 248-249 (tomb 24), 274-275 (tomb 35), 443-444 (tomb 93).

33 Herrmann 1888, 40-46; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 475-476, pl. CLXXXV-CLXXXVII.

34 For recent studies of the large terracotta statues from Marion/Arsinoe see Flourentzos 1994 and Raptou 1997.

35 Gjerstad 1935, 260, 330 and 395.

36 Nys 2003. The jugs with plastic decoration on the shoulder are treated in more detail in Vandenabeele 1998 (jugs with figurine(s) on the shoulder); and Nys 2000 (jugs with a zoomorphic head on the shoulder).

37 Gjerstad 1935, 455.

38 Smith 1997.

39 Smith 1997, 93.

40 When applying a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test with a significance level at 0.05, we notice that all the observed differences stay well below the minimum required difference of 0.308 that would allow rejecting the null hypothesis.

41 Metal objects are found 23 times in tombs in which jugs with plastic decoration appear, and 22 times in tombs without jugs with plastic decoration. However, the ratio of absence of metal objects in tombs with and without jugs with plastic decoration is 10:26. Although a  $\chi^2$  test indicates that this observed difference in absence of metal objects is significant, the  $\varphi_2$  coefficient of 0.06 shows that the relationships between the variables is extremely weak.

42 See tombs 16, 18, 37, 41, 43, 50, 51, 55, 56, 58 and 62. An exception forms tomb 60 where skeletons II and III, which presumably belong to the same burial period, are each provided with a jug with a figurine on the shoulder (Gjerstad 1935, 356-364).

43 Deshayes 1963, pl. XI:1 (jug no. 14 in niche β of chamber I, e) and Michaelides & Mlynarczyk 1988, 152 (jug no. 5 in tomb P.M. 2520).

44 Herrmann 1888, 61-62.

45 Jugs with plastic decoration occurred in 29 tombs (nos 16, 18, 20-22, 25, 26, 37, 39, 40-43, 45, 46, 50, 51, 55-60, 62, 72, 85, 88, 91 and 92). The jugs were found together with wide bowls in 15 tombs (nos 16, 26, 39, 41, 43, 46, 51, 55, 56, 58, 62, 72, 85, 88 and 92). Tomb 50 also contained four wide bowls that were, however, not lying nearby the two jugs with plastic decoration. Still, the tomb-gifts could have been dislocated by water infiltration in the tomb.

46 Only in tombs 22, 45 and 57, the jugs with plastic decoration were not found in association with open shapes.

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# RE-EXAMINING A STEATITE MOULD FROM IDALION: OLD PRACTICES IN THE LIGHT OF NEW PERSPECTIVES

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## Introduction

The re-examination of the archaeological material from older excavations has always been an important part of archaeological research as it provides an opportunity to test the validity of older approaches in light of new theories. The call of the Medelhavsmuseet to consider the material from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition from a gender perspective is, therefore, a useful exercise for Cypriot archaeology in this regard and indeed, even more so, since the finds from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition provide a remarkable wealth of information owing to the quality of their documentation. A reassessment of these finds is therefore a challenge worth undertaking.

The present paper will focus on an artefact from Idalion, a steatite mould for jewellery, and will review the evidence that has been provided so far for its interpretation. In addition, using the publication records, the paper will discuss the specific object in a wider context in order to present a more holistic perspective on its description. All possible contexts will be considered: from the depositional, i.e. its location at the site of Idalion, to the socio-political, i.e. its role in the

multicultural environment of Cyprus at the end of the Late Cypriot III.

The artifact under examination is related to jewellery making, which is admittedly not a topic usually discussed in relation to gender perspectives. The purpose of this choice, however, is to explore whether the gender perspective in archaeology is relevant only to specific classes of artifacts, and at the same time to demonstrate how such a perspective can be used as a tool to reconsider our practices and writings in the field, and challenge the arbitrary partitions that are usually established between different types of data.

**The steatite mould from Idalion**  
The closed mould which was found in the Late Cypriot III site of Idalion (Fig. 1), dated approximately from 1200 to 1050 BC, is described in the object register of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition as a:<sup>1</sup>

Square plaque of red-brown steatite, being half of a mould for casting minor objects, as three bobbin-shaped beads pierced by holes through the longitudinal axis; two small, hemispherical beads with ribbed bodies: a boat-shaped pen-

dant decorated with ridges around the neck; and a crescent-shaped plaque. In two corners are circular holes for fixing the two halves of the mould together. Length 5.2. J6. 103.4.

Its more recent entry in the catalogue of the Medelhavsmuseet, offers additional information about similar moulds from the Aegean and the Near East:<sup>2</sup>

Plaque of red-brown steatite being half of a mould for minor objects such as ribbed bobbin-shaped or spherical beads or a crescent-shaped pendant. It must have been made for casting, judging from the pouring channels and the circular holes in two corners for fixing it to another corresponding half. Ribbed globular and 'grain of wheat' gold beads are common in Cyprus. Similar moulds with pouring channels have been found in the Near East, while open moulds intended for glass ornaments with flat backs have been found in the Aegean.

Steatite moulds of the kind recovered in Idalion were mainly used for casting precious metals, due to their



resistance to heat, as well as to the fact that gold and silver could be cast directly in them. The same type of mould, however, could be also used for the production of glass and faience beads,<sup>3</sup> and this kind of use cannot be excluded, especially at times when there would have been a need for a cheap substitute for precious metals.

The recovery of moulds in the archaeological record has had the positive effect of improving our understanding of the technology and production of specific artifacts, as well as of the social implications of these activities on the organization and structure of the communities in which they are found. The example from Idalion is among the very few pieces that provide some information about jewellery making on the island,<sup>4</sup> and judging from its matrices, it presents a rather broad repertoire of motifs for minor objects (beads and pendants), which surpass Cypriot borders and underline the affinities of Cyprus to the trade centers and jewellery masters of neighbouring areas.<sup>5</sup>

Jewellery making has a very long tradition in Western Asia and although the number of moulds which belong to the 12th and 11th centuries BC is rather limited, there is a considerable number of jewellery and jewellery moulds from earlier periods (16th to 14th century) from sites that were culturally affiliated with Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>6</sup> Mycenaean culture in the Aegean region, on the other

Fig. 1. Plaque of a closed steatite mould for casting jewellery from Idalion (front and back sides),  
Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm,  
Inv. no. I. 518.



Fig. 2. The closed steatite mould from Idalion in inverted position. Detail of the small 'papyrus' bead.

hand, has provided equally competent masters of jewellery making, constituting a similarly strong source of influence for Cypriot jewellery.<sup>7</sup> In the list of jewellery moulds that have been recovered within the context of Mycenaean culture, and despite the fact that most of the pieces were discovered in a de-contextualized state, there are several closed moulds that resemble the mould from Idalion.<sup>8</sup> Of special interest is one piece from Thebes which, in view of the considerable number of tools, raw material and various un-worked pieces that have been found in its vicinity, seems to have been found in a jewellery workshop (dated to LHIIIB:1, c. 1300–1200 BC).<sup>9</sup> The mould is of the closed type with both parts preserved with matrices of plain rings. On one half

there is also evidence of secondary use, with three shallow matrices with incised motifs, possibly for stamping gold leaf.

The matrices in the mould from Idalion can be divided into two main categories, beads and pendants. The beads are of three types: plain ring, spherical beads with ribbed bodies, and grain-shaped beads.

The plain rings and the spherical beads with ribbed bodies are two types that seem to be common both in the Aegean and the Near East. Examples from the Mycenaean world are from both jewellery and moulds.<sup>10</sup> However, similar examples are not absent from the Near Eastern context either. Early Dynastic Ur (beginning of the 3rd millennium) has yielded probably some of the first attested

ribbed ball-shaped beads,<sup>11</sup> while a variety of plain ring matrices is also evident in a number of moulds from the Syro-Palestinian coast.<sup>12</sup> The grain shaped beads seem to be a type that is more characteristic in Mycenaean contexts,<sup>13</sup> and its absence from Near Eastern context attests to its western origin.<sup>14</sup>

The matrices of pendants in a mould also consist of three types:

The crescent pendant: This is a pendant that can be rather safely placed among the types with a Near Eastern origin. Examples have been found from the beginning of the 2nd millennium,<sup>15</sup> while in representational art a characteristic is "the lunar crescent, in extremely fine granulation, portrayed on the headdress of the seated moon god on the palace fres-

cos at Mari".<sup>16</sup> This type of pendant was also very popular in the Syro-Palestinian region in the 16th and 14th century from a number of sites: Ras Shamra, Meggido, Shechem, Ajul, sites culturally affiliated to Cyprus during this period.<sup>17</sup> The pendant is also known as a 'horn-shaped pendant' since in many cases it resembles more a pair of animal horns.

The disc with radiating ridges pendant: This pendant should also probably be placed within a Near Eastern context, despite the fact that identical pieces are lacking. Pendants in similar geometric designs were quite common in Mesopotamia already from the Early Bronze Age, while the closest equivalent in the Late Bronze Age seems to be the "sun disc with rays", which is a very popular shape in Syro-Palestine during this period.<sup>18</sup>

The 'boat-shaped pendant': This matrix has been identified by the excavator as a "boat-shaped pendant decorated with ridges around the neck",<sup>19</sup> and it is a piece for which it has been rather difficult to find parallels. A closer look, however, indicates that no other matrix in the mould has any specific orientation. If we invert the mould and view the shapes from a different position (Fig. 2), we might actually see the specific matrix as resembling the small papyrus shape beads of the kind that is quite popular in Mycenaean jewellery.<sup>20</sup> This is a type of bead, moreover, which has also been associated, both in the archaeological record and in representational art, with the ornamentation of textiles.<sup>21</sup>

The variety of shapes that seem to draw both from the Aegean and the Near East, and the fact that so many

matrices are crowded into such a small surface (the length of the mould is only 5.2 cm), might bring to mind the model put forward by Jeanny Vorys Canby, who sees in these examples "portable trinket factories" carried by itinerant craftsmen.<sup>22</sup> The mould from Idalion, however, must be slightly different since it comes from a cult site and its use can, therefore, be considered indispensable for the production of luxury items in the context of different rituals.<sup>23</sup> In this context, the variety of shapes in the mould should be interpreted as reflecting the multi-ethnic environment that characterized Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age rather than a product for the demands of a trans-regional market.

In fact, all three steatite moulds that have been found in LCIII contexts in Cyprus seem to be related to cult areas; the two examples from Enkomi with ring matrices and an incised motif, dated to LCIIIB,<sup>24</sup> our example from Idalion which belongs to LCIIIC, and another smaller mould with a matrix of a bull-pendant, which was also found in Idalion in the first habitational period of the site dated to LCIIIA.<sup>25</sup>

### Depositional pattern

Idalion has been characterized by its excavator as a fortified stronghold with a cult place, and it is generally considered a relatively small scale regional cult centre in the LCIII period. The site had three main habitational periods 1, 2, 3, LCIIIA, B, and C respectively (ranging from 1200-1050 BC).<sup>26</sup> The steatite mould under examination was found outside the main area of the 'cult house' from period 3 and in the vicinity of what the excavator has identified as a treasury (room

XXXVa-b), on the basis of the abundance of material that was found *in situ* (Fig. 3).

In the re-examination of the depositional patterns from the site, one should not fail to stress the quality of the information provided, which is indeed what has made the following analysis possible. This might not be a surprise considering the involvement of Swedish archaeology in the establishment of archaeology as a discipline, but it is certainly a surprise if one considers that this documentation has been developed within the culture-historical paradigm, and with an obvious "bias"/interest towards pottery.

Period 3, which belongs to the last habitational phase of the site, the period before its peaceful abandonment, does not provide information about the use of space in the settlement, since many of its artifacts are worn out and it is clear that we are dealing with residual assemblages. The number of *in situ* artifacts that have been recovered, however, and the recording of their associations which is meticulously documented in the publication, reveal clear associations between specific types of artifacts.

What is evident in this distribution of the finds (Fig. 3),<sup>27</sup> is a prevalence of beads, pendants, spindle whorls and loom weights, both in the area the excavator has identified as a treasury, and in the area where the steatite mould was actually found.

Although it is not possible to point to a specific location for a workshop, the co-presence of tools, raw material, partly worked/unfinished objects, workshop debris (mistakes, off-cuts, chips), finished items, etc., indicate that what we are dealing with here are

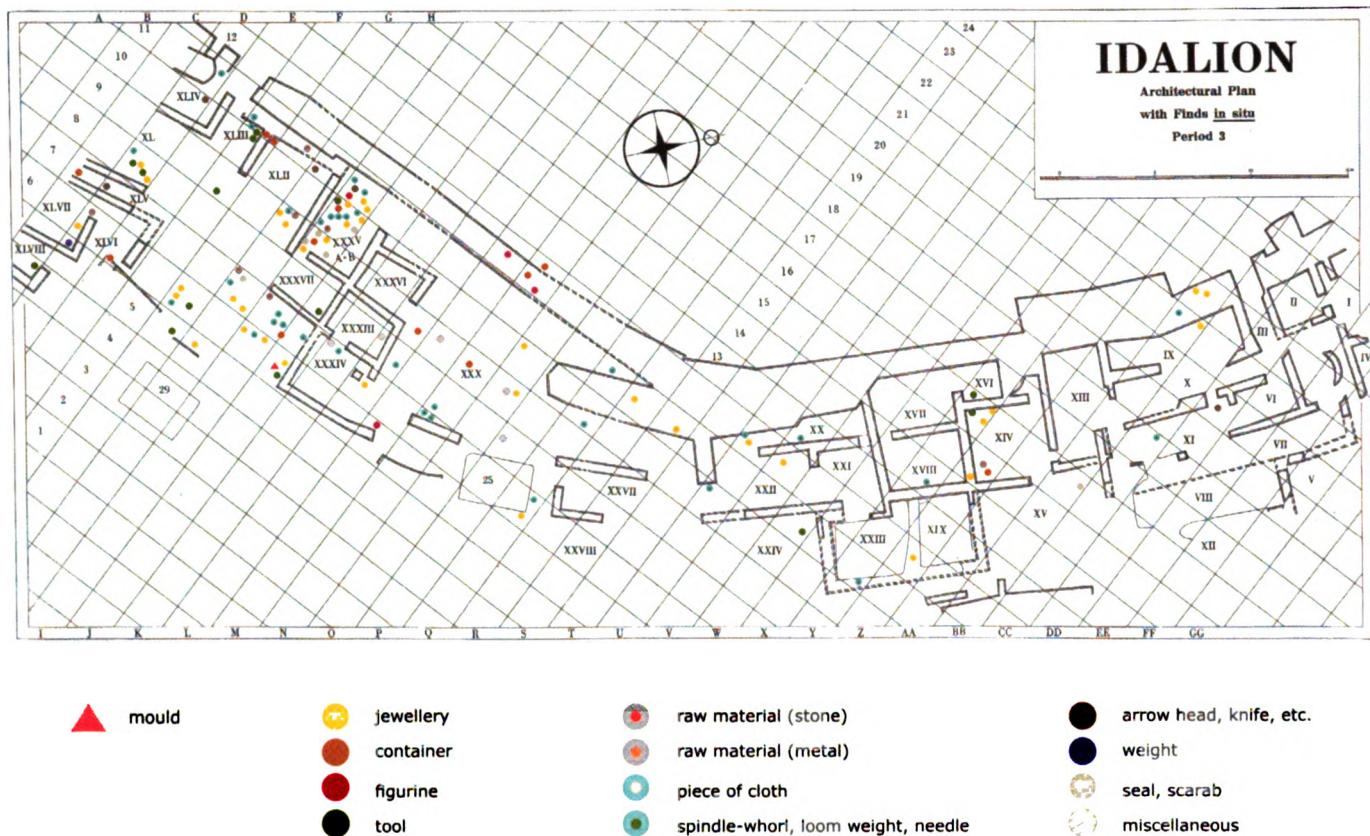


Fig. 3 Idalion: Distribution of *in situ* finds from period 3 (after Gjerstad, E. et al. 1934, pl. XVIII).

at least the remnants of a workshop, which must have been operating in the vicinity of the area.<sup>28</sup>

This pattern is further enhanced when compared to the evidence from previous phases. The first period, which is the one most often cited in the literature because of the concentration of bull figurines near an altar, reveals evidence that relate jewellery to textile production near the cult center (Fig. 4), while the distribution from period 2 presents a similar pattern, regardless of the differences in the depositional processes and the obvious clearance of the cult area during this period (Fig. 5).

### Discussion

The distribution of finds *in situ* that has been documented in the site of Idalion clearly indicates that there is an intensive co-presence of certain types of artifacts in the settlement, i.e. beads, pendants, mountings, jewellery moulds, spindle whorls and loom weights, raw material, tools, etc. This co-presence is evident in all three habitational phases and seems to indicate that there was a relation between textile production and jewellery making in the particular site.

So far, the involvement of women in the production of textiles is an issue that has been identified both

in the Near Eastern context where a strong gender ideology seems to link weaving with women in written documents,<sup>29</sup> and in Cyprus for which it has been argued that women were the primary producers of textiles in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>30</sup> What is of particular importance in our case, however, is the clear association of this type of evidence with jewellery making and the implications of such an association for the reconstruction and understanding of the different networks of production and the social and gender relations which must have developed as a result.<sup>31</sup>

The fact that gender archaeology

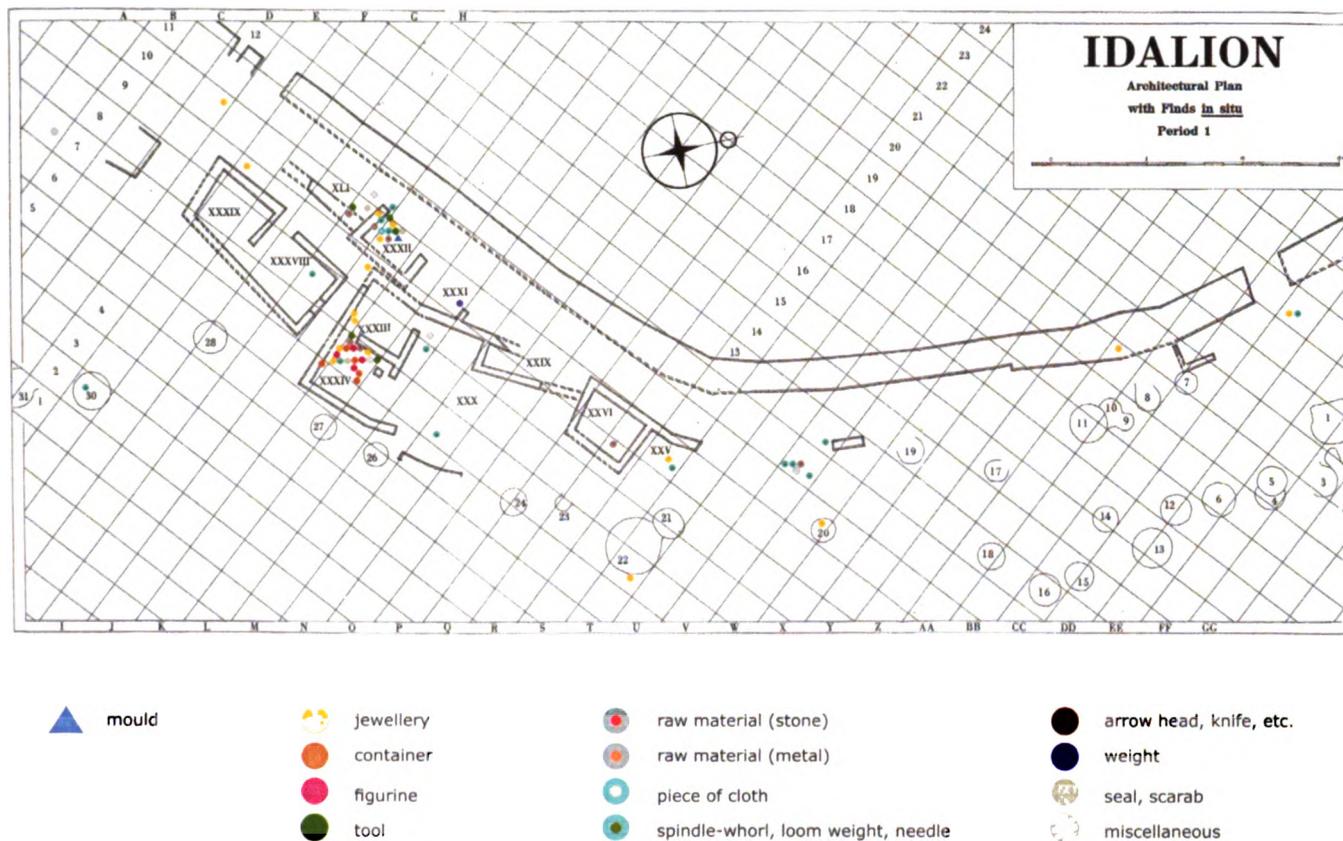


Fig. 4 Idalion: Distribution of *in situ* finds from period 1 (after Gjerstad, E. et al. 1934, pl. XVI).

has moved beyond merely trying to demonstrate the presence of women in the archaeological record to focus instead on the way both genders together are integrated with the social and material aspect of any particular technology,<sup>32</sup> highlights the potential for the use of depositional patterns such as the above.

In addition, although the role of clothes in the construction of social identities and self-representation among the members of a community is an issue widely discussed in the literature of gender archaeology,<sup>33</sup> the positive potential of exploring this relationship by using depositional in-

formation provided at a micro scale in the field, has been less acknowledged and, for this reason, is a direction worth pursuing.

In the changing socio-political environment of LCIII, Idalion is considered to be a regional cult center maintaining several traditional practices (such as the use of animal images in its cult), while neighboring coastal centers in the island, like Enkomi or Kition, develop different, more cosmopolitan habits through the adoption of monumental architecture, conspicuous consumption, and the use of anthropomorphic images.<sup>34</sup> Jewellery making and textile

production seem to be among those activities at the site which did persist, themselves undoubtedly also transformed by the reshuffling of the markets abroad, but at the same time still serving the most fundamental needs of the community; self-representation and the negotiation of social relations, through the use of clothes and jewellery, constitute some of the strongest social markers in a society.

In an attempt to re-write the caption for the steatite mould from Idalion, several points could, therefore, be added, based on the information recovered from its re-examination:

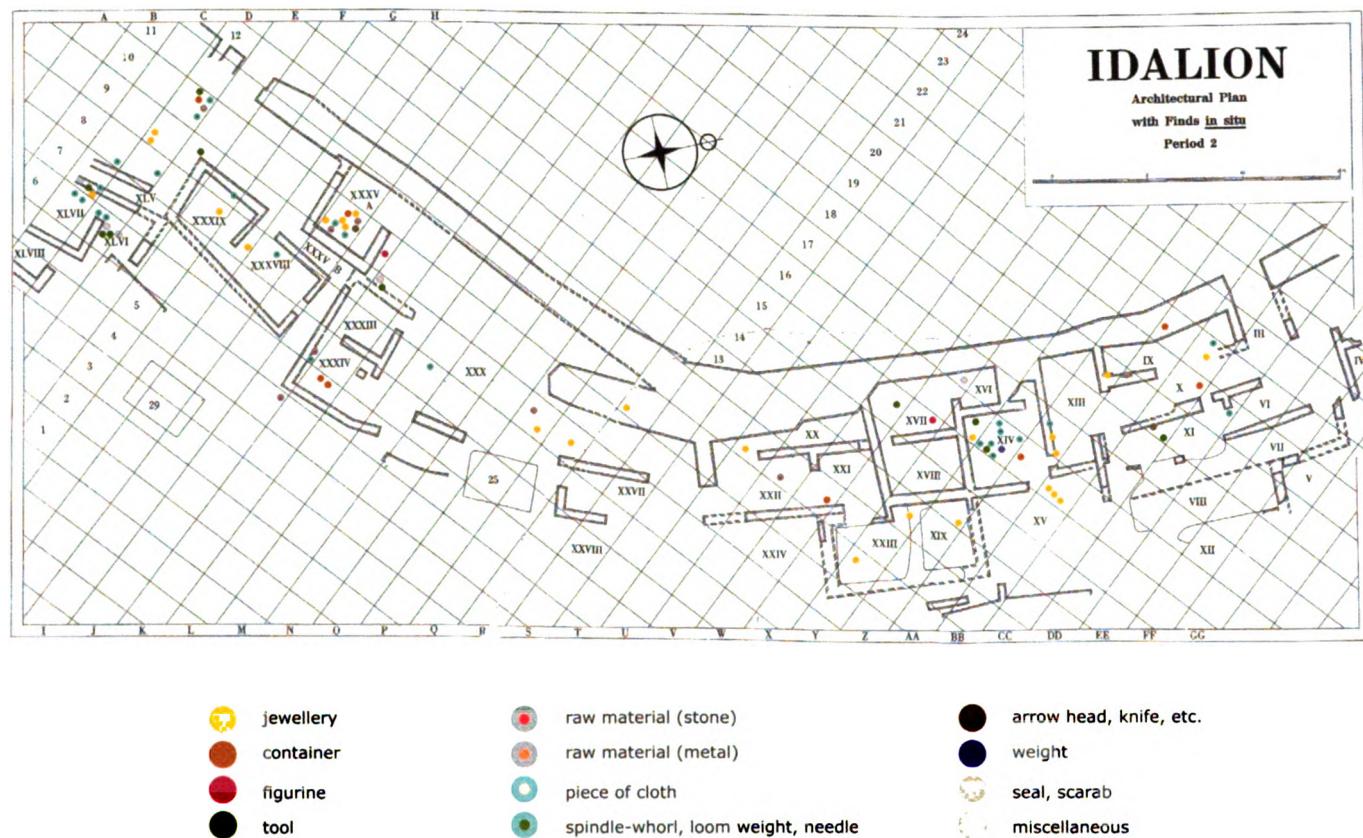


Fig. 5 Idalion: Distribution of *in situ* finds from period 2 (after Gjerstad, E. et al. 1934, pl. XVII).

### Steatite mould from Idalion

Inventory no. I. 518.

Part of a closed steatite mould for casting jewellery. Steatite moulds, because of their resistance to heat, were mainly used for casting gold, silver, and occasionally glass. The matrices consist of a variety of beads popular in the Aegean and pendants with Near Eastern affinities. The mould was found *in situ*, near what has been identified as a 'cult house' at Idalion, and belongs to the very latest phase of habitation, just before the peaceful abandonment of the settlement in c.1050 BC. Associated with the mould were a number of objects related to textile production (spindle whorls,

loom weights) indicating the reciprocal relation among different groups of artisans and types of craftsmanship. According to Near Eastern texts this co-occurrence is rather common in cult centers, since different ritual occasions called for different clothes and jewellery. Late Cypriot III (1200–1050 BC) is the period when most of the trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean, which previously made Cyprus prosperous, had collapsed. Jewellery making at Idalion, whether for use in cult rituals or as a marker of the wealth and status of certain individuals in the society, indicates the continuation of certain practices despite social upheaval in neighbor-

ing regions, and at the same time provides fertile ground for the study of social and gender relations that this new environment might have had among the members of the society.

### Conclusion

The analysis of material from old excavations has always been a difficult task in archaeology especially since more recent developments usually transcend old practices and perspectives tailored to certain research questions and interests in the past.<sup>35</sup> What the publication from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, however, indicates is that this pattern might not always be true, and that archaeological

practices in the field are not always restrained by theoretical perspectives, especially when it is clear that what constitutes the archaeological object is the association among artifacts and not the artifacts themselves.

The re-examination of the steatite mould from Idalion has emphasized the fact that craft production and consumption are better understood when they are not examined in isolation from their depositional context,

and that different perspectives in the way we examine archaeological information can enrich our attempt to understand the past and approach the audiences we wish to address.

#### Acknowledgments

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#### NOTES

- 1 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 546, inv. no. I. 518.
- 2 Karageorghis et al. 2003, 110, cat. no. 118.
- 3 Higgins 1961, 16–17; see also Evely & Runnels 1992, 29–31.
- 4 The majority of the recovered pieces refer to the making of bronze tools, see Catling 1964, 272–275.
- 5 For a brief but concise description of the jewellery recovered on the island, see Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, 165–167; Higgins 1961, 87–89.
- 6 Sites such as Ras Shamra, Tell el Ajul, Megiddo, Alalakh, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 127–131.
- 7 Higgins 1961, 73ff.
- 8 Tournavitou 1997a, 243–244.
- 9 Demakopoulou 1974, 166–167, ill. 1–2.
- 10 Sakellarakis 1997, 612–631; Tournavitou 1997a; Konstantinidi 2000; Hughes-Brock 2003; Blegen et al 1950
- 11 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 8–9, fig. 6.
- 12 Elliott 1991, 46–51, figs. 14–23, 22; see also Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 54, fig. 38.
- 13 Higgins 1961, 74; Iakovidis 1980, 302; Sakellarakis 1997, 622–623, fig. 668.
- 14 Despite the variety of biconical beads, the grain shaped beads do not seem to

- 15 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 87, fig. 65b.
- 16 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 91, fig. 67.
- 17 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 149–151, pls. 115, 119.
- 18 Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 144–149, fig. 98, pl. 115.
- 19 Gjerstad, E. et al. 1934, 546, inv. no. I. 518.
- 20 Sakellarakis 1997, 622–623; Higgins 1961, 80, fig. 14. For similar examples in moulds see Evely & Runnels 1992, 29–31, pl. 4; Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, cat. no. 462.
- 21 Sakellarakis 1997, 616, fig. 654; see also discussion in Younger 1992, 273–274, pl. LXIVb; Televantou 1982; Televantou 1984.
- 22 Canby 1965; for a similar discussion in the Aegean context, see Bloedow 1997.
- 23 For a discussion on stationary vs. itinerant craftsmen in palatial contexts and the indispensability of such artifacts for the production of luxury pieces, see also Tournavitou 1997b, 38–39.
- 24 Dikaios 1969, 292–293, pl. 138, no. 10–11, pl. 146, no. 22, pl. 173, no. 24, 16.
- 25 Gjerstad, et al. 1934, pl. 184, no. 13–14.
- 26 Gjerstad, et al. 1934, 460–628.
- 27 The category miscellaneous refers to small, fragmented objects, without clearly identifiable use (e.g. circular disc of ivory, circular cover of limestone, etc.).
- 28 For a discussion about workshops and the criteria for their identification, see Tournavitou 1997, 238–240.

29 Wright 1996b.

30 Smith 2002.

31 For the importance of the interdependence of the different modes of production and the reciprocal relationship between different workshops, see Smith 2002; Kopaka 1997; Nordquist 1997, Barber 1997; Wright 1996a; Laffineur 1995.

32 Sørensen 2000, 39–40.

33 Sørensen 2000, 124–143; For a similar discussion about the relation between textiles and jewellery ornamenting statues and goddesses or women of high rank in written records from the Near East, and in the Aegean representational art, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 138; Younger 1992.

34 Sherratt 1992; Knapp 1997, 64–72; Webb 1999.

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# ENGENDERING HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TOMBS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION

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## Introduction

The study of gender as represented in mortuary evidence involves the identification of the sex of individual skeletal remains and/or the assignment of gender based on the nature of associated burial goods. Sex is considered to be a physical characteristic – an individual is male or female – whereas gender is a social construct, in which the assumption of an identity as a man or a woman confers certain characteristics.

Sexing skeletal material is the surest means of identifying the remains of adult men and women, based on sexually dimorphic traits visible in the bones, particularly in the pelvis and cranium, but sometimes determined by the robusticity or gracility of an individual. Children, not having undergone puberty and the associated physical changes, can not be sexed in this way. Preservation, of course, plays a major role in studies of this nature – if the bones are not well preserved, sexing is often not possible. The nature of the population in question is also relevant, in that some populations do not exhibit as wide a range in sexually related traits; i.e. there is not as much variation between male and female members,

the dimorphism is not as marked. The Cypriot population is one such, in that there is a large middle range of values, and individual remains can not always be securely identified as male or female, particularly when the skeletons are incomplete.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition (henceforth SCE) team members were in many instances able to estimate the number of burials – often based on the number of crania, using that element as an indicator of the minimum number of individuals (MNI) present. However, given that their excavations took place during the 1920's, when biological archaeology was not a developed science, it was not common practice to have a specialist on staff. Assignments of gender were based extensively on associated artifacts, rarely on assessment of sexual traits noted in the skeletal remains. Study of the remains recovered by the SCE could prove a profitable direction for future research, particularly when combined with assessment of the burial good assemblages.

Assignments of gender in the reports published by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were based primarily on associated artifacts, which were deemed to be gender-specific.

This requires that excavators are able to identify specific assemblages within the corpus and assign them to a particular individual. This is often quite difficult. Cypriot tombs tended to be reused over generations, with older burials being swept aside or even removed to make room for the latest addition. In addition to mingling assemblages, the objects often become disassociated from their owners. There is also the issue of later disturbance. Most tombs are robbed, and there is frequent water perturbation, rodent activity, and roof collapse to muddy the record. In some cases, the latest assemblages are clearly separable. Single burials also make it easier to identify an assemblage – where burials are contained in some way, either by virtue of being a single burial or separated from the rest of the chamber, be it in a cist or *fossa*, sealed *loculus* or *arcosolium*, within a coffin or sarcophagus, or somehow physically separated, for example, on a ledge.

The SCE analysis relied upon the assumption that certain objects are gender specific. Most jewellery – especially if present in quantity – particularly earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and hairpins, they believed to be associated with female bur-

als. Toiletries, including *spatulae* and mirrors, likewise they thought were left with women, as were such items as spindles, spindle whorls, and loom weights. Weapons, knives, and *strigils*, on the other hand, would belong to men. Whereas these assumptions are not necessarily incorrect, one must be careful not to impose modern sensibilities upon the past, particularly with regards to jewellery. What is necessary is to collect a large data sample and to test the hypothesis.

There is an extensive literature on the analysis of gender-associated artifacts in burial assemblages, but necessity prohibits discussion in any depth here.<sup>1</sup> Burial goods can be divided into two main groups: those that are customary ritual offerings to the deceased and those that belonged to the deceased during his or her lifetime. Such personal possessions reflect the identity of the deceased, including age, gender, ethnicity, profession, and social status, as well as relationships to others, who may have been present among the mourners. Not all aspects of an individual's identity may be represented among the burial goods, but gender is very commonly featured. Ritual offerings tend to be more generic, placed to satisfy religious requirements. Their number and quality can reflect social status, but the link to identity is not as tight as seen with the personal possessions. Burial goods also can be divided by time of deposition: some are deposited at the time of burial, while others are left at later occasions. Personal possessions, those most likely to reflect gender, are almost always placed in the tomb close to the body at the time of burial. Ritual offerings can also be left at this time, but also later, and may not be

placed by the body but in a common area, such as the centre of the tomb, by the doorway, in the *dromos*, or on the surface above the tomb by the tombstone. These offerings may not even be intended for an individual *per se*, but for the ancestral group.

To assess the presence of gender-related artifacts, one must acquire a body of data. The SCE comprises the first scientific collection of material for Cyprus, and must form the basis of any such data collection. Necessary for such a study are careful burial maps, noting the location of each artifact in relation to individual skeletons. The SCE kept such records, which still remain too rare in this age of rapid construction and salvage archaeology. The SCE also incorporates data from multiple sites, in different parts of the island, giving a geographical breadth to the sample, and the material also encompasses a considerable span of time.

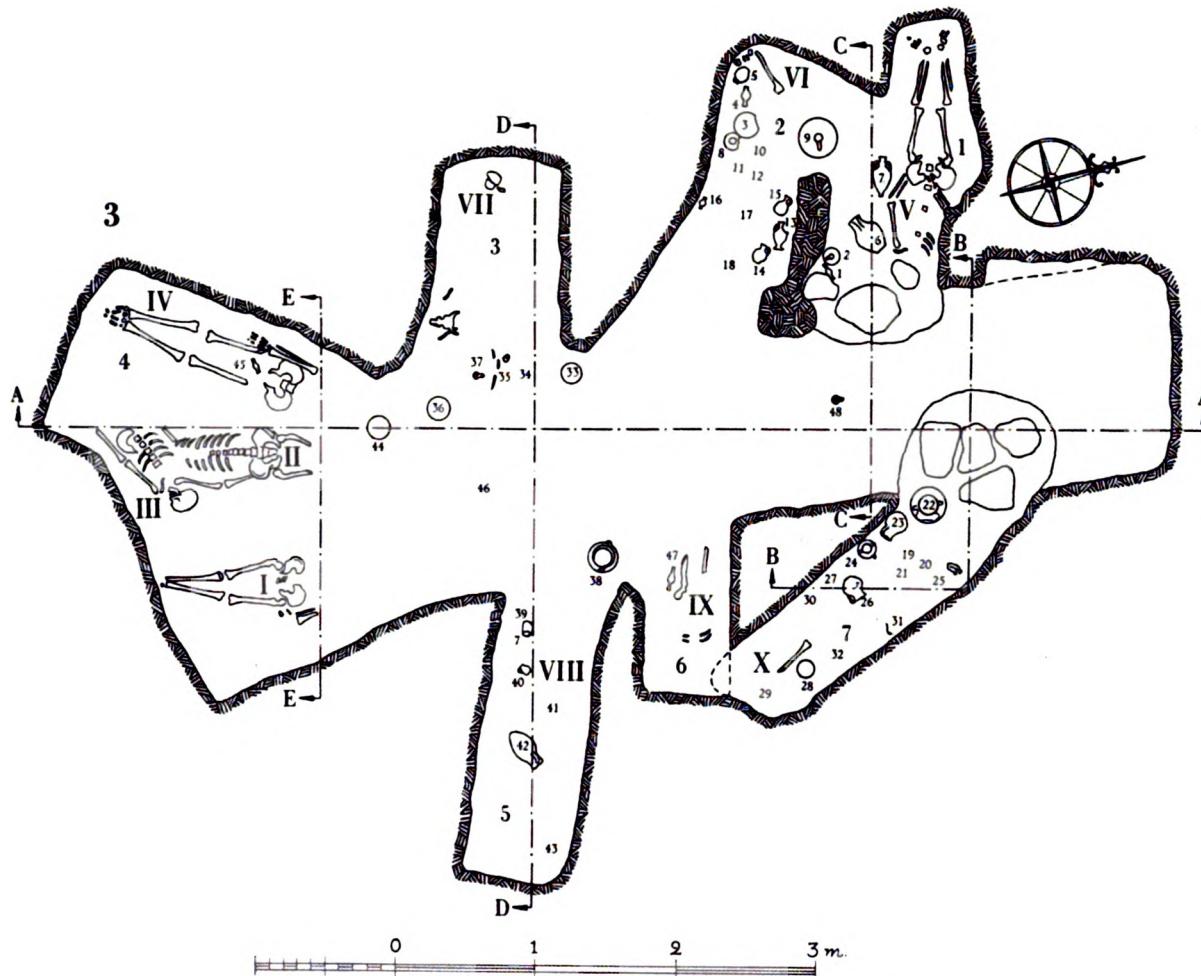
Also to be noted is that not all aspects of funerals and other commemorative activities would be preserved in the archaeological record, and that some of these aspects could be gender determined. Changes in practice can occur over time and across space, affecting the representation of gender in the burial record. These can also covary with other characteristics such as age, ethnicity, or status.

**The Hellenistic and Roman burials excavated by the SCE**  
Only 25 of the tombs excavated by the SCE include burials of the Hellenistic and Roman period. Given the constraints of the evidence – the lack of skeletal analysis and the difficulty distinguishing individual assemblages, this can not be considered a large

sample. Nevertheless, it is worth examining the evidence presented.

Seven tombs from Marion-Arsinoe produced burials of the Hellenistic and/or Roman period.<sup>2</sup> Ceramic vessels were the only gifts accompanying the single Hellenistic burial of Tomb 1; no gender was assigned. The alabaster *amphoriskos* and sherds in Tomb 2 likewise preclude a gender identification. Tomb 3, only partially preserved, yielded two *unguentaria* and a glass ring, but no skeletal material was retrieved.

Marion Tomb 9, assigned to Hellenistic I, most certainly continued into the early Roman era, and contained at least ten burials (Fig. 1, 2). Burial VI, poorly preserved and lying alone in Niche 2, was identified as female on the basis of the accompanying jewellery: a gold ring (no. 10), a bronze and silver earring (no. 11), and eight paste beads (no. 17). Also present were a ceramic plate (no. 3) and bowl (no. 8), two *unguentaria* (nos. 4, 16), four ceramic pitchers (nos. 5, 13-15), eight gold myrtle leaves from a funerary wreath (no. 12), and an iron nail (no. 18). None of the remaining burials was sexed, but the burial goods include an iron *strigil* associated with a bronze disc, perhaps the lid of a *pyxis* (no. 35; the *strigil* is traditionally assigned to male burials, the *pyxis* to female); a bronze pin (no. 31, perhaps female); three gold earrings (two of which are a pair, nos. 20, 30, 41, considered to be female); and beads (nos. 21, 25, 32, 27, likewise considered female). Nos. 20, 21, 25, 27, and 30-32 belong to Burial X in Niche 7; No. 41 to Burial VIII in Niche 5. Despite their poor preservation, these might be considered female burials on the basis of the SCE criteria. No.



1. Marion Tomb 9, Burial Map. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 73:3.)

35 cannot be securely tied to a burial. Also accompanying Burial X were 14 gold myrtle leaves from a funerary wreath (nos. 19 and 29), a transport amphora (no. 22), two ceramic jugs (nos. 23, 26), a ceramic *amphoriskos* (no. 24), and a glass bowl (no. 28). With Burial VIII were two transport amphorae (nos. 7, 42), a ceramic tumbler (no. 39), a ceramic pitcher (no. 40), and a bronze nail, probably from a wooden coffin (no. 43).

Marion Tomb 58, a tomb of primarily Classical date, contained one

burial of the Hellenistic I period in a small secondary "chamber", its entry sealed by three slabs. The deceased, identified as female on the basis of jewellery – two silver rings (nos. 30–31), a silver pendant (no. 32), and two gold earrings with goat *protomes* (no. 33) (Fig. 3). The final object was an unguentarium (no. 34).

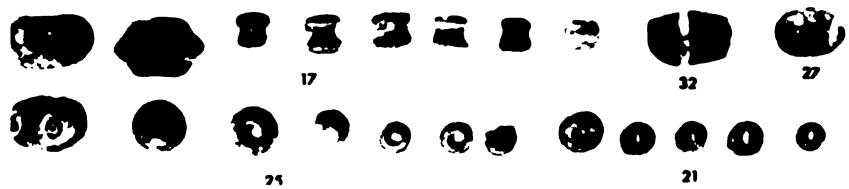
The second phase of Marion Tomb 60 dates to the Hellenistic period, including skeletons IV, V, and VI (Fig. 4, 5). Burial IV was identified as female on the basis of red paste

bead hair pendants (no. 8), thought to be placed within a wooden coffin, along with three ceramic unguentaria (nos. 46, 48, and 49); however, these beads actually belong to Burial V. Burial V was also cited as female, on the basis of a pair of gold earrings (no. 7) present with a lamp (no. 28). Burial VI, likewise considered female, although robbed, was still accompanied by a necklace (no. 10) of gold, glass, and cornelian, a silver ring (no. 71) and two gold earrings (no. 9), as well as four ceramic pitchers (nos. 25–



3. Marion, Tomb 9.  
Objects of iron and bronze.

4. Marion, Tomb 9.  
Objects of silver and gold.



6. Marion, Tomb 9. Minor objects.

2. Marion Tomb 9, Objects. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, pl. XXXVIII:3, 4, 6.)

27, 52), an unguentarium (no. 56) and a bronze *spatula* (no. 53).

The adjacent Marion Tomb 61 is contemporary with this latter phase of Tomb 60 (Fig. 4). The bulk of the gifts clustered around the better preserved of the two burials, identified as female on the basis of a mass of fine gold thread (no. 11), identified as lacework from a dress worn by the deceased. The wooden pyxis (no. 10) might be considered a female attribute. Other gifts include three ceramic pitchers (nos. 4-5, 16), a ceramic bowl (no.

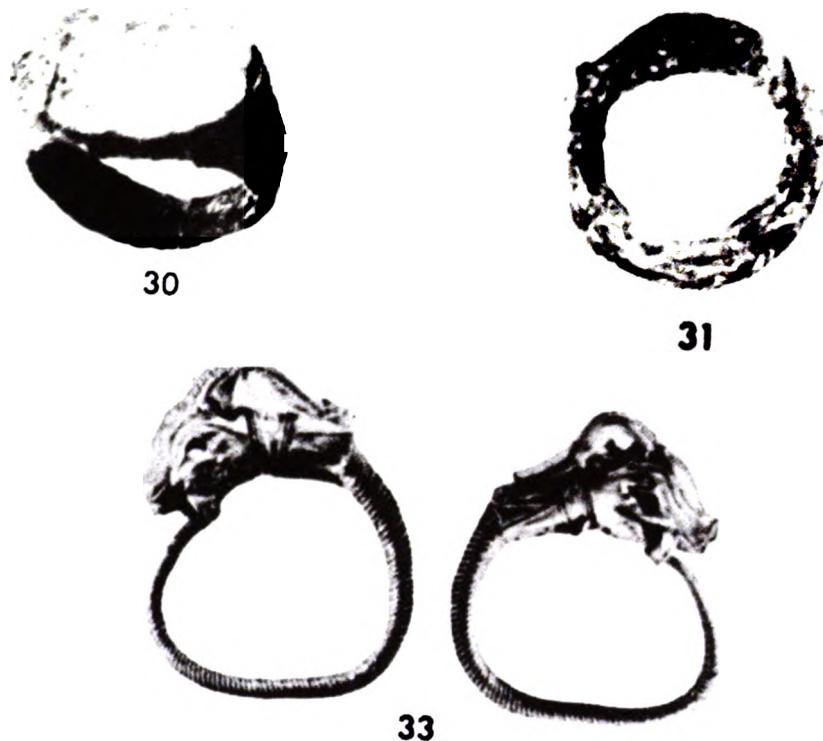
15), an unguentarium (no. 13), a red-figure *kantharos* (no. 9 – belongs to this burial, not to the shaft burial as described in the publication) and a red-figure *guttus* (no. 14).

Ten tombs from Amathus included burials of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>3</sup> Tomb 1 produced numerous sherds of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but no intact burials, and consequently the gold ring with a green stone (no. 1, perhaps a female object) was not associated with a particular burial. None of

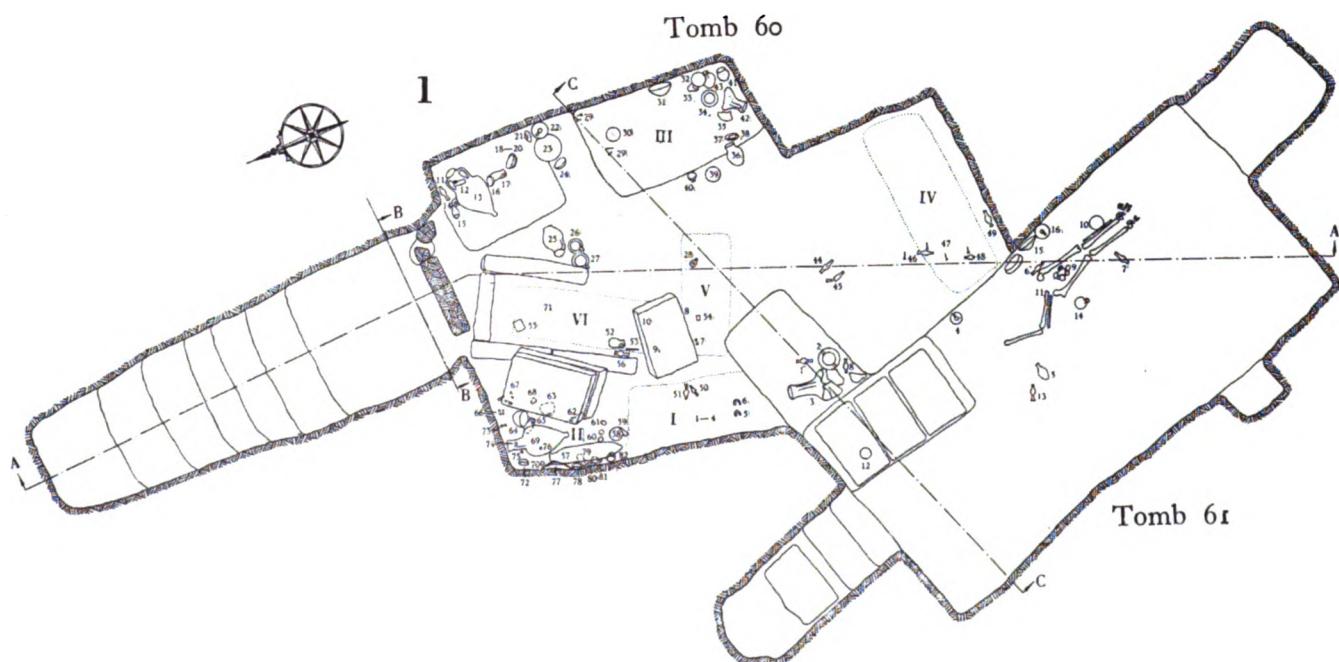
the Hellenistic material from Tomb 2 can be considered a personal object; all the gifts accompanying the burial in the *dromos* – unguentaria (nos. 1, 2, 4, 55) and lamps (nos. 53-54) – were of a ritual nature. An earlier Archaic burial in this tomb was identified as male on the basis of accompanying armour and weaponry.

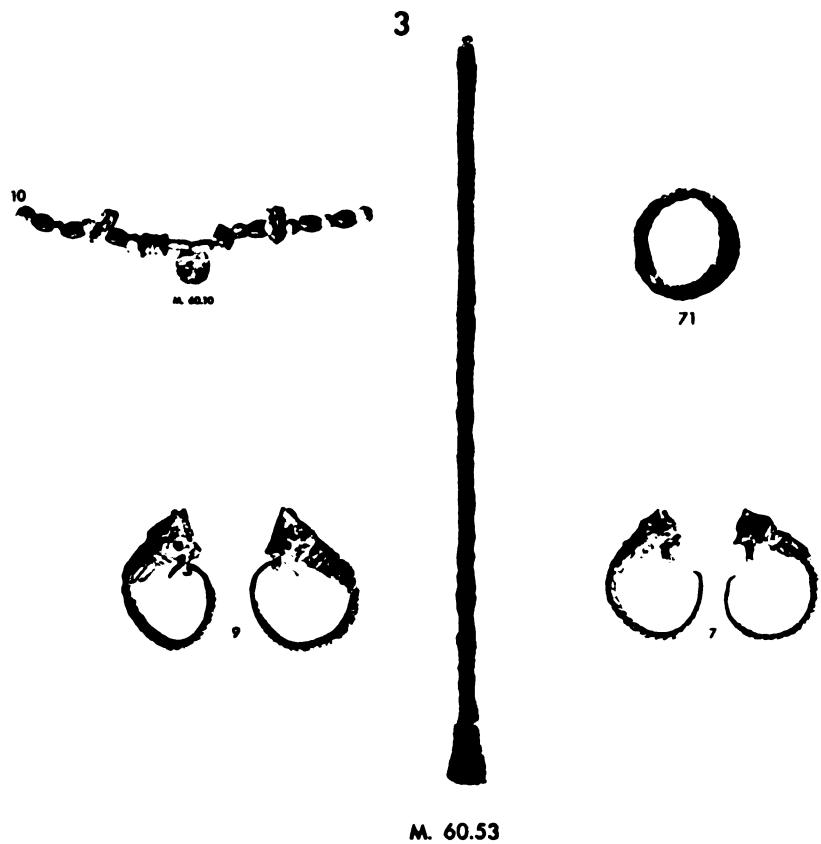
Amathus Tomb 6 presents an interesting puzzle (Fig. 6).<sup>4</sup> Identified by the excavators as a Geometric tomb, closer inspection of the ceramics revealed a Hellenistic amphora (no.

3. Marion Tomb 58, Objects. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, pl. LXIV:2.)

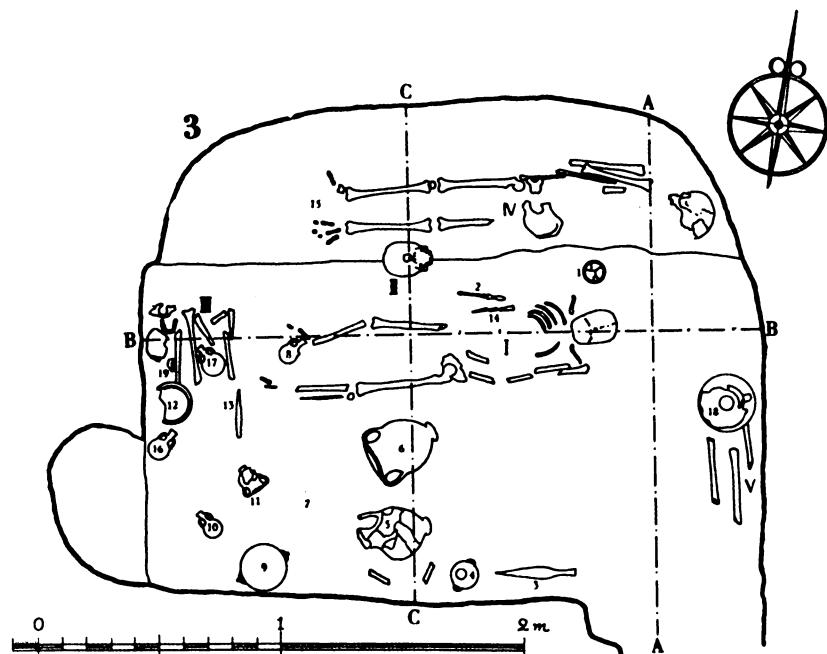


4. Marion Tombs 60 and 61, Burial Maps. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 154:1.)





5. Marion Tomb 60, Objects. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, pls. LXVIII:1; CLII:3.)



6. Amathus Tomb 6, Burial Map. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 11:3.)

18) and a Roman *spatula* (no. 2) (Fig. 7). The bronze palette (no. 1) is actually part of a mirror, and the bronze rivets and ivory fragments (no. 15) might be part of a small box, as the excavator suggested, or the remains of a writing tablet.<sup>5</sup> Nos. 1 and 2, along with an iron knife (no. 14) accompanied Roman Burial I. The mirror and perhaps the *spatula* are considered to be female attributes, but the SCE excavators judged knives to belong to men. A small chest or writing tablet (no. 15), found with Burial IV, while a personal possession, cannot be considered gender specific, and the Hellenistic amphora with Burial V should be seen as a ritual element.

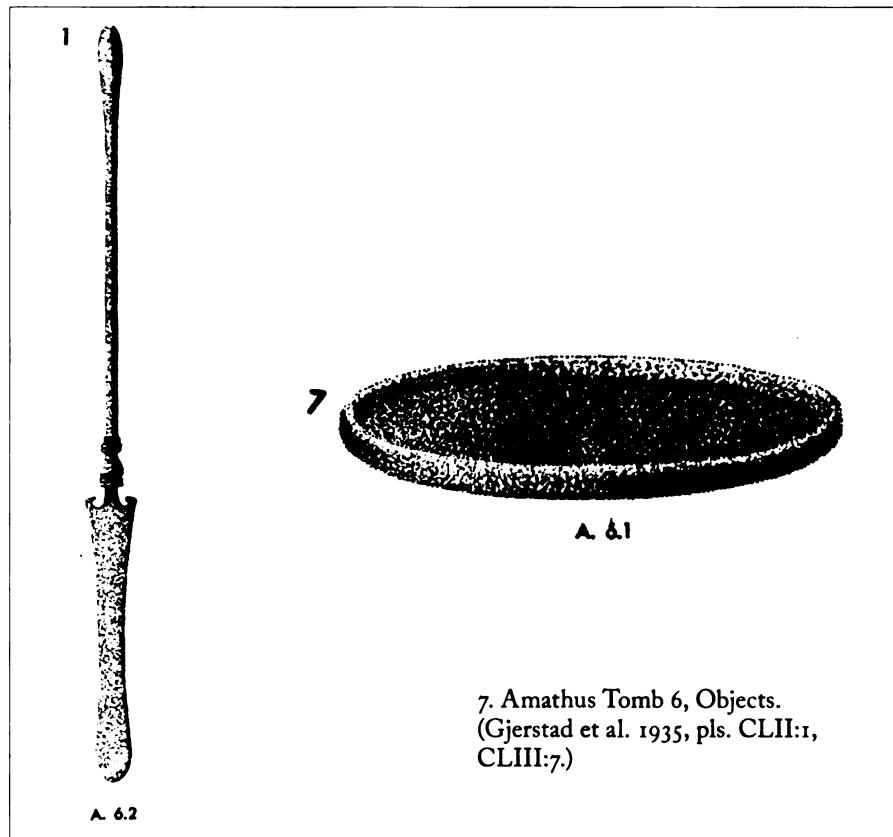
Amathus Tomb 10, originally constructed during the Geometric period, saw reuse during the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. The Hellenistic burial, contained within its own loculus, was girded about its brow with a gilded and bronze burial wreath of myrtle leaves (no. 57), but lacked any other gifts that might identify its gender. The Roman burial in Tomb 16 likewise lacked any gender-specific gifts.

Amathus Tomb 17 may have been constructed during the Archaic period, but all the burials belonged to the Roman era. The excavators concluded that all four skeletons comprised a closed group, based on the parallel arrangement of the bodies. (Fig. 8) Burials I and IV stretched along the north and south walls of the tomb respectively, while II was placed on top of III, between I and IV. Based on the size of the *femora*, the excavators identified the upper burial, II, as male, and considered III to be female. They describe this particular grouping as "androgynous", consisting

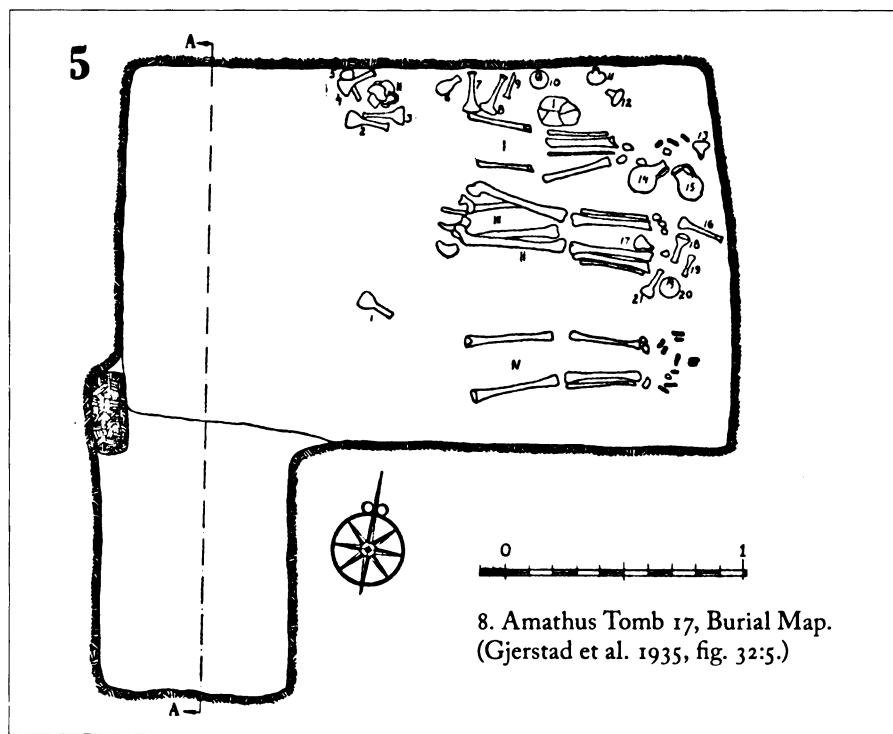
of a pair, male and female, which was also encountered in Amathus Tombs 7 and 11, both Archaic.<sup>6</sup> The excavators considered Burials I and IV to be slaves or servants, perhaps sacrificed to accompany the couple into the afterlife. The "androgynous" burial position is very unusual; the Cypriot norm is dorsal and outstretched, side by side, from the Bronze Age onwards. There is nothing to suggest that any of the burials were sacrifices; it is more likely that they were members of the same family.<sup>7</sup> The burials goods include nineteen glass unguentaria (nos. 1-13, 16-21) and two ceramic pitchers (nos. 14-15), all ritual elements that do not reflect gender.

Amathus Tomb 18, although primarily Geometric in date, included two Roman burials. Its gifts, like those in Tomb 17, were of a ritual nature, including two ceramic pitchers (nos. 9, 10), four glass unguentaria (nos. 12-15), a bronze coin (no. 11), and the remains of a gold funerary wreath (no. 16). Tomb 20 was completely robbed, and can provide little information. Tomb 21, a Geometric tomb, was reused during the Roman period. Four unguentaria, three ceramic (nos. 25, 26, 54) and one glass (no. 53), accompanied the burial. These items are likewise ritual, and bear no gender associations.

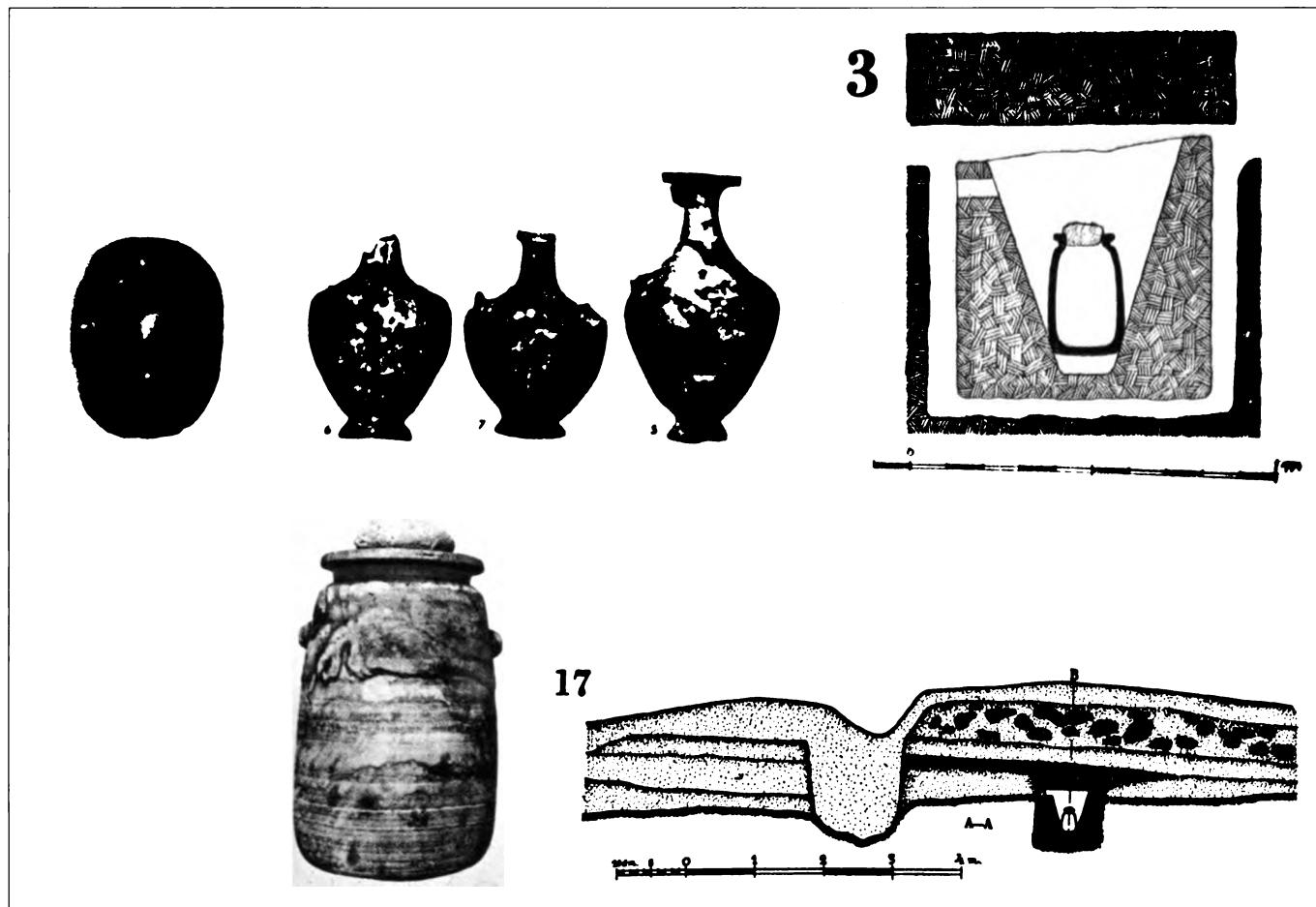
Amathus Tomb 26 is unique on the island. Consisting of a cremation placed with a large *alabastron*, in turn inside a stone *pithos*, it was buried beneath a tumulus that included layers of ash, presumably the remains of the pyre (Fig. 9). Also inside the *pithos* were a steatite scarab (no. 1), and three Hadra *hydriae* of the polychrome variety (nos. 5-7). A gilded myrtle wreath (no. 3) encircled



7. Amathus Tomb 6, Objects.  
(Gjerstad et al. 1935, pls. CLII:1, CLIII:7.)



8. Amathus Tomb 17, Burial Map.  
(Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 32:5.)



9. Amathus Tomb 26, Objects and Sections. (Gjerstad et al. 1935, pl. XXIX:5, 6, 7, figs. 46:3, 46:17.)

the alabastron. The excavators suggest that the burial was a Ptolemaic official, buried according to his own custom. Survey of the Hadra *hydriæ* found on Cyprus, in Alexandria, and elsewhere confirms the Alexandrian connection.<sup>8</sup> Cremation was uncommon on Cyprus. Furthermore, the effort involved in the construction of the tumulus indicates that the deceased was important. Although no specific reference was made to the sex, the hypothesized identity of an official implies that the burial was male.

The excavators did not postulate

sex for the burials from two Hellenistic tombs at Idalion, one of which was reused during the Late Roman period (Idalion Tombs 1 and 2).<sup>9</sup> According to the SCE criteria, the pigment rod (Tomb 1, no. 2) and beads (Tomb 2, no. 16) are the only objects which might have gender associations. However, the water disturbance in Tomb 1 was extreme, and the beads from Tomb 2 were retrieved from the sieve; consequently, neither can be associated with a specific burial.

Five tombs of the Classical era from the Kountoura Trachonia necropolis continued in use into the

Hellenistic period.<sup>10</sup> The excavators did not suggest a sex for any of the burials. All of the goods belong to the ritual class of burial goods – ceramic pitchers, bowls, cooking pots, transport amphorae, unguentaria, lamps, and coins. Not a single object can be classified as a personal possession, which in itself is interesting. It would appear that the identity of the deceased did not directly influence the nature of the burial goods in this community, but rather that the emphasis was on satisfying the ritual requirements of the burial and ceremonies of commemoration.

Vouni Tomb 11, a tomb dated to the Classical II period, saw an opportunistic reuse for a single burial, probably towards the end of the 1st century AD.<sup>11</sup> No sex was assigned to the burial, which was poorly preserved. None of the associated goods – a lamp, a coin, and a glass bowl – can be considered gender affected, as they all belong to the ritual class of burial good.

Essentially, the SCE operated under the assumption that the inclusion of certain burial goods was dictated by gender, and therefore one could extrapolate gender on the basis of these goods – *strigils* and weapons were considered male; jewellery female. If skeletal remains appeared robust, they were assumed to be male, but no systematic analyses were conducted on the bones. One “androgynous” pairing, of presumed male and female skeletons, was identified in Amathus Tomb 17. This burial disposition remains unparalleled in subsequent publications, and these skeletons in particular merit further analysis.

#### Recent research on Hellenistic and Roman burials on Cyprus

A survey of more recent excavations, expanding on the SCE database, supports the validity of the gender assignments based on the presence of certain types of burial goods, but much work remains to be done.<sup>12</sup> The lack of skeletal analysis remains the major stumbling block; however, this is being redressed, as excavations now regularly employ the services of a specialist in the analysis of human bones.

Examination of the burial assemblages confirms that they can be divided into two categories: personal

possessions of the deceased and objects fulfilling ritual requirements. The first group were in all probability objects used by the deceased during his or her lifetime, placed in the tomb for the deceased's use during the afterlife. Such items would have been closely associated with the dead person when alive; the survivors might have been reluctant to keep them and deprive the dead of their use, or considered “contaminated”, they were placed in the grave to remove a negative influence from the home. Personal possessions appear in Cypriot tombs long before the Hellenistic and Roman periods and continue into the Late Roman period on a more restricted basis. The occurrence of personal items is particularly frequent at the larger sites – perhaps a consequence of availability or of wealth – but they are not absent from the smaller sites.

Various categories emerge from this group. The first encompasses those worn by the deceased during their lives and at the time of burial, such as jewellery and clothing. Tools also accompany the dead, some of which can be considered gender or profession specific, others of generic types. Toiletries are frequently attested, objects used by the deceased on a daily basis and consequently carrying strong associations with their owners. Less common are objects of devotion or entertainment, such as figurines, toys, masks, and instruments.

Evidence indicates that the deceased were laid to rest clothed and adorned. Jewellery by its nature tends to be well preserved, and although clothing probably figured more frequently, its perishable nature precludes survival, with only metal and glass fixtures such as fibulae,

buckles, and buttons remaining. Even when not present, it does not mean the deceased was buried unclothed, but when they occur, they provide confirmation. Some of the deceased were also shod with heavy sandals, which have decayed leaving their nails behind. Given its intrinsic value, jewellery is the most likely class to be reported in publications, but also the most attractive to looters.

Jewellery falls into two classes, that owned during life and that commissioned specifically for the purposes of burial. The second type is distinguished by a fragility unsuitable for the wear and tear of everyday life, including fillets, wreaths, mouthpieces and clothing ornaments. Funerary jewellery is seen in burials of both sexes, and is not confined to adults. Men, women, and children were buried with jewellery that they owned and prized during their lifetimes, with the more elaborate pieces traditionally assigned to women.<sup>13</sup> The deceased wore some items at the time of interment as indicated by the archaeology. Earrings, rings, necklaces, beads, pendants, bracelets, and hairpins were the most common items. Earrings are the most frequently encountered, and it is often assumed that these belonged to female burials, but may have been worn by some males as well. In undisturbed burials, earrings frequently lie by the cranium. Rings comprise the second largest class, and probably accompanied both male and female burials. By virtue of their closed shapes, they are more difficult to dislodge, with examples remaining on fingers or in close proximity, confirming that these items were worn to the grave.<sup>14</sup> Necklaces, beads, and pendants are the third

most common category of jewellery encountered, and like most items of jewellery, they are often ascribed to female burials. However, some may have belonged to men and children, especially those considered good-luck charms or amulets. Bracelets rank next in terms of frequency. Like most other pieces of jewellery, bracelets are customarily assigned to adult female burials, but should not necessarily be seen as age or gender specific. The presence of hairpins among the burial assemblages indicates that the hair was dressed for burial, and as hairpins were intended to secure long hair in an upswept coiffure, scholars assign them to female burials. By their nature they are easily dislodged from their original resting places, but several examples were found close to the back of the skull. Clothing is gender-specific, and so consequently are its fastenings. Although fabrics and leathers have long since perished, the metal and glass attachments, including fibulae, buckles, and buttons, survive, as do metal-studded sandal soles. The deceased made their journey to the afterworld adorned and clothed, following appropriate fashions for their gender.

Toiletries are by their nature intimately connected to the individual and the best represented category among personal possessions after jewellery. The inclusion of toiletries in burial assemblages is well attested throughout the eastern Mediterranean in Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>15</sup> It is also characteristic of earlier Cypriot custom. *Strigils* are considered a masculine attribute, with the deceased sometimes described as athletes, while mirrors are assigned to women's graves, as are most other toilet arti-

cles.<sup>16</sup> Among this class, mirrors and *strigils* occur most frequently.

Mirrors are typically assumed to indicate a female burial, being among a woman's most prized possessions. It is also not impossible that they were used by men, though it is women who are portrayed using mirrors. Within Cyprus, they are widely distributed, although most common at larger sites. Seen in earlier tombs, the frequency of mirrors increases during the Hellenistic, and is even more marked during the Roman period, perhaps reflecting their increased availability. The presence of mirrors in two Late Roman tombs attests to their continued inclusion in burial assemblages. There are also a few examples of "killed" mirrors, intentionally destroyed to deter spiritual pollutants. *Strigils*, on the other hand, are most frequently attested in Hellenistic tombs, and rare in Roman assemblages.

Pyxides are relatively common items in Hellenistic and Roman burials, both within and outside the province.<sup>17</sup> These small containers held cosmetics, jewellery, or other small personal items and are traditionally associated with female burials. Along with unguentaria, and applicators such as *spatulae*, wands, and spoons, they comprise a large category of objects employed for anointing the deceased during the course of the funeral, and therefore are often present in a ritual capacity rather than as possessions of the deceased, and should not be associated with one gender in particular. Some applicators are quite elaborate and therefore perhaps personal possessions, but the dual role of these items should be kept in mind. Palettes, mortars, and pestles, utilised in the preparation of cosmetics, are

rare. Equally uncommon are other tools of personal grooming, such as razors, tweezers, and combs.

Tools occur in some numbers and should be considered personal possessions. These range from everyday items of generalised function such as knives, to highly specific tools of the trade, for example, surgical instruments. These items were used on a daily basis by the person with whom they were buried, and in all likelihood were prized possessions. They were placed in the tombs to accompany their owners into the afterlife, and perhaps to remove the contamination of an item closely associated with the deceased from the home. Some are more likely to have been owned by men than women or vice versa, while others should not be considered gender-related.

Knives and buckets could have belonged to anyone, male or female, adult or child. Styli, writing tablets, and inkpots are likewise not gender or age specific; their owners need only be literate. Others, such as sickles, axes, saws, whetstones, fishhooks, and anchors, are more likely to have belonged to men, possibly those involved in farming or fishing. Most frequently spindles and whorls, but also loom weights and needles are associated with women, used in the course of their household chores.<sup>18</sup> A few types hold professional associations, such as surgical instruments for the doctor and weapons for the soldier or gladiator, most of whom would have been men. Weapons are not as common in Hellenistic and Roman tombs on Cyprus as previously, reflecting a more peaceful climate. All of these tools were used frequently by their owners, and consequently

appropriate for inclusion in the burial assemblage.

The second major category of burial gifts is related to rituals enacted during the course of the funeral. These are not age- or gender-specific, but their elaboration, be it in quality or quantity, can be a consequence of the deceased's status. The major types comprise offerings of food and drink, tableware and other containers, unguentaria, lamps, coins, and funerary jewellery. Offerings of food and drink were left for the sustenance of the dead at the time of burial and subsequently to celebrate various anniversaries and festivals. While offerings left at the time of burial were intended to endow the deceased with sufficient strength to reach the afterworld, subsequent offerings might mark the change in the status of the deceased to divine ancestor. Mourners also conducted banquets to honour the deceased at the tombs as part of the funeral rites, where the deceased could "participate" with the living, and on such occasions as the anniversaries of birth and death.

Based on the evidence of the burial maps and general impressions, the following can be inferred concerning the placement of Hellenistic and Roman burial assemblages. Personal possessions were closely clustered around their owner, which permits the assessment of gender based on burial assemblages. Jewelry was worn: earrings hung from the ears, hairpins skewered hair close to the skull, necklaces and rings encircled necks and fingers. Surplus to need was probably kept in small caskets, as a few collections of closely grouped beads and jewellery attest. Several buttons lying in ribcages may

indicate that the bodies were clothed, while a pair of shoes still attached to the feet of a child is evidence that some were buried shod. Funerary jewellery also adorned the deceased, as numerous examples of wreaths and diadems adhering to crania reveal. Tools and toiletries were placed close at hand, sometimes in small boxes. Coins remain in the hand or near the crania of the deceased, the latter originally placed in the mouth, to pay the ferryman. Other coins may have been stored in a chest or in a cloth purse. Several lamps and unguentaria, and sometimes a few vessels with offerings of food and drink, could be placed close to the body, completing the assemblages deposited at the time of burial.

Offerings and funerary banquets occurred at the time of burial, as well as on subsequent occasions. Offerings consisted of food and drink in appropriate containers, unguentaria, lamps, and burned incense. These could be placed on offering tables at the end of a chamber tomb, at the edge of burial ledges or niches, or in *dromoi*.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the constituents of the burial assemblages are fairly consistent, arguing for continuity in the manner in which gender was reflected. Clothing and jewellery maintain a constant presence, with changes in type related to fashion. Among funerary jewellery, mouthpieces die out, but diadems and wreaths continue into the Roman era, as do clothing ornaments. With the exception of *strigils*, which disappear during the Roman period, toiletry items appear in consistent numbers, as do tools. The numbers of food offerings and container vessels indicate the continued observation of this custom

and occurrence of funerary banquets, although the vessel types and media undergo some changes. While there is some imprecision in the dating of the objects in question, there appears to be a decrease in the numbers of vessels and organic offerings during the Roman period, with the exception of cups, which increase. Lamps and coins increase in numbers during the Roman period, while unguentaria maintain their quantities, albeit with a shift in medium from ceramic to glass. During the Late Roman period, those personal possessions which pertain to clothing or jewellery continue to appear, whereas toiletries and tools are on the wane. Among the ritual elements, unguentaria and funerary jewellery disappear, but coins, lamps, and offerings of food and drink continue, arguing for a more gradual transition from paganism to Christianity than previously posited.<sup>19</sup>

## Conclusions

Examination of the published burial assemblages reveals that the same issues that affected the SCE material with regards to gender analysis continue to impede results. There is nothing that can be done about disturbances to burial assemblages resulting from reuse of the tomb, looting, and various natural disturbances. However, with excavators taking care to make a plan of the objects to clarify which objects belong to a particular burial as is customary now – and indeed, a regular feature of the SCE's procedures, and with skeletal analysis also now a regular part of publication, many of the suppositions put forward by the SCE have the potential to be tested in the future.

The hypothesis that the inclusion

of certain object classes is dictated by gender is very likely valid. Most jewellery probably did belong to women, though some pieces clearly could have belonged to men or children. Mirrors were probably buried with women, *strigils* with men. Certain tools were definitely gender-specific. Further research supports the evidence brought

forth by the SCE; with skeletal analyses, the assertions that certain classes of burial good are gender related can be proved.

The contribution of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition can not be understated. Their database of scientifically collected evidence forms the starting point of any investigation into the

burial customs on Cyprus. The meticulous descriptions and illustrations of burial goods and tombs, not least of all their maps of the burials and their assemblages, are invaluable. It now remains to build upon their skeleton, so to speak.

#### Acknowledgments

Much of the research presented in this paper derives from my Ph.D. dissertation, and consequently owe a great debt to discussions with Kathleen Warner Slane and Demetrios Michaelides in particular, as well as many others who passed through the doors of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute. The students in my Mortuary Archaeology class (2004) provided much food for thought. Funding was provided by Fulbright; the Samuel H. Kress Foundation; the National Endowment for the Humanities; the American Schools of Oriental Research; the University of Missouri-Columbia; Brock University; the Western Sovereign Base Area Archaeological Society. Thanks are also owed to the Medelhavsmuseet for bringing this conference to fruition.

#### NOTES

- 1 See for example, L.R. Binford in Brown 1971, 6-29; Parker Pearson 1999, 95-110; McHugh 1999, 30-39; Arnold and Wicker 2001.
- 2 Gjerstad et al. 1935, Tombs 1 (Hellenistic, 185-186); 2 (Hellenistic, 186-187); 3 (identified as Hellenistic, but probably also Roman, 189); 9 (identified as Hellenistic, but certainly some Roman material, 206-209); 58

- (Classical I, Hellenistic I, 345-348); 60 (Classical II-Hellenistic, 356-364); 61 (Hellenistic I, 364-366).
- 3 Gjerstad et al. 1935, Tombs 1 (Archaic-Roman, 4-6); 2 (Archaic, Hellenistic, 6-16); 6 (identified as Geometric, 27-29, but reused in Hellenistic and Roman, Parks and Steel 1996); 10 (Geometric, Archaic, Hellenistic, 64-69); 16 (Geometric, Archaic, Roman, 94-100); 17 (Archaic? Roman, 102-103); 18 (Geometric, Roman, 103-108); 20 (Archaic? Roman? 113-114); 21 (Geometric, Hellenistic-Roman, 114-119); 26 (Hellenistic, 136-138). Parks and Steel 1996.
- 4 I thank Professor Demetrios Michaelides, Archaeological Research Unit, University of Cyprus, for this suggestion.
- 5 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 139.
- 6 The usual supposition is that the Cypriot chamber tombs were family sepulchers – with family perhaps being meant in the extended sense. Supporting evidence includes a group of plaques from a tomb at Chytroi, Nicolaou 1968, and a series of funerary cippi from Amathus, Parks 1999, Chapter 3.
- 7 Parks forthcoming.
- 8 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 629-634.
- 9 Gjerstad et al. 1934, Tombs 2 (440-442), 7 (447-448), 10 (452-454), 12 (455-456), and 14 (457-459).
- 10 Gjerstad et al. 1937, 322-334.
- 11 Parks 1999, Chapter 6.

- 12 Jewellery is most often attributed to the burials of women, particularly in the case of earrings. Toll 1946 associates earrings with female burials, 118-121. Blegen et al. 1964 note pins, earrings, rings, and beads accompanying women's graves, 83.
- 13 Burials with rings on or near fingers have been reported from Nea Paphos, Salamis, Carpassia, Ledri, Citium, and Curium, all major urban sites.
- 14 Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 164, 208; Toynbee 1971, 52.
- 15 Kurtz and Boardman note that mirrors occur regularly in women's graves, along with toilet articles, while strigils belong to men, and perhaps children, endowing them with the attributes of an athlete, from the Archaic period onwards. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 164, 208. Blegen et al. 1964 also ascribe mirrors and pyxides to female burials, 83.
- 16 Blegen et al. 1964, 83; Bruneau 1970; Mackworth Young 1949.
- 17 For parallels outside Cyprus, spindles and whorls, Avni and Greenhut 1996, 113; Mackworth Young, 1949; loomweights: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 208.
- 18 Parks 1996; Parks 1997; Parks, Given, and Chapman 1998; Parks and Chapman 1999; Parks, Mavromatis and Harper 2000; Parks, Mavromatis and Harper 2001.

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# DIE MENSCHLICHEN SKELETTE DER SCHWEDISCHEN ZYPERN-EXPEDITION IM LICHT NEUER PALÄOPATHOLOGISCHER UNTERSUCHUNGEN – VORLÄUFIGE ERGEBNISSE DER MAKROSKOPISCHEN UNTERSUCHUNGEN

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## Abstract

Human cranial remains of 78 skeletons from the sites of Ayios Iakovos, Amathus, Enkomi, Kontoura Trachonia, Kythrea and Lapithos housed in the skeletal collection of Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, were investigated. The material was extensively fragmented and in some cases in a poor state of preservation. In this study, the targeted diseases were deficiency and infectious diseases, inflammatory processes, and, particularly, haemorrhagic processes of the skull vault and the basal skull. This material, previously not investigated, exhibits vestiges of inflammatory processes of the meninges, the paranasal sinuses, and deficiency diseases, such as anemia, and a few cases of probable scurvy. Males and females show similar frequencies of diseases. This sample does not suggest culture based sex-specific dichotomies or gender-based diseases. However, differences are seen between adults and subadults. Meningeal reactions of inflammatory origin are more predominant in adults compared to subadults in whom haemorrhage on the internal lamina of the skull vault is more common. Inflammations of the paranasal sinuses, especially the maxillary sinuses

(*Sinusitis maxillaris*) are widespread in adults, however, have lower frequencies among the subadults. In some cases, the inflammation of the maxillary sinus is associated with dental abscesses. Deficiency diseases, anemia and Möller-Barlow disease are seen in subadults but not in adults.

## Einleitung

Die menschlichen Skelette von 78 Individuen von den Fundorten Ayios Iakovos, Amathus, Enkomi, Kontoura Trachonia, Kythrea und Lapithos aus der osteologischen Sammlung des Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, sind auf Spuren krankheitsbedingter Prozesse hin untersucht worden. Die Skelettreste sind ein Teil der osteologischen Sammlung der schwedischen Zypern Expedition. Dieses osteologische Material wurde zum ersten Mal von Carl Michael Fürst vom Ende der 20er bis zum Anfang der 30er Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts untersucht.<sup>1</sup> Ziel der Untersuchung war die Bestimmung der rassischen Zugehörigkeit der Individuen, ein für die damalige Zeit zentrales Forschungsgebiet in der Anthropologie. Zu diesem Zweck waren ausschließlich die Schädel zusammengetragen und nach Schweden geschickt wor-

den. Eine minutiöse Untersuchung der Anthropometrie und spezifischer morphologischer Merkmale der Schädel zur Bestimmung der Herkunft und der Rassen/des Populationstypus der Individuen des prähistorischen Zyperns folgte. Die Ergebnisse wurden in der Jahreszeitschrift der Universität Lund (Lunds universitets årsskrift) im Jahr 1933 in dem Artikel "Zur Kenntnis der Anthropologie der Prähistorischen Bevölkerung der Insel Cypern" publiziert. Später wurde die Sammlung von Peter M. Fischer auf Erkrankungen der Zähne und traumatische Einwirkungen untersucht<sup>2</sup>.

Die von 78 Individuen stammenden Schädel und Schädelfragmente wurden bisher nicht auf Spuren krankhafter Knochenprozesse hin untersucht. Die vorliegende Arbeit konzentriert sich daher auf die Diagnose unspezifischer Entzündungen und hämorrhagischer Prozesse am Schädeldach und der Schädelbasis sowie auf Spuren von Mangelkrankungen und Infektionskrankheiten. Die Diagnosen wurden anhand makromorphologischer Kriterien gestellt (z.B. Schultz 1988).

Der Erhaltungszustand ist unterschiedlich. Die Skelette und Skelettfragmente weisen eine teils feste,

teils bröckelige Konsistenz auf, deren Oberflächenqualität von gut erhalten bis stark erodiert variiert. Dennoch sind die Knochen für eine osteologische Untersuchung hinsichtlich krankhafter Prozesse gut geeignet.

Die Skelette stammen aus verschiedenen Orten und datieren vom Neolithikum bis in die hellenistische Periode:

Eine diachrone Analyse ist in diesem Fall statistisch nicht durchführbar. Die Schädel beinhalten aber zahlreiche bioarchäologische Informationen, die einen Einblick in die Paläoepidemiologie und Paläopathologie des prähistorischen und antiken Zyperns vermitteln.

Fundort	Relative Chronologie*	Anzahl der Individuen
• Ayios Iakovos	MCIII - LCII	36
• Amathus	CGI - CAII	12
• Enkomi	LC I-III	12
• Kontoura Trachonia	Hellenistisch (ca.300-200 v.Chr.)	3
• Kythrea	Neolithikum	2
• Lapithos	MC-EC, CG	12
• Marion	CA II - CC II	1

\*EC = Early Cypriote, MC = Middle Cypriote, LC = Late Cypriote, CG = Cypri-Geometric, CA = Cypri-Archaic, CC = Cypri-Classic

Tabelle 1. Alter und Geschlecht der Individuen

Fundort:	Kinder	Erwachsene	Geschlecht (Erwachsene):
Ayios Iakovos	16	20	10 weiblich
			7 männlich
			3 m = w *
			3 weiblich
Amathus	4	8	3 männlich
			2 m = w
			2 weiblich
			3 männlich
Enkomi	3	9	4 m = w
			-
			-
			-
Kontoura Trachonia	3	-	-
Kythrea	1	1	1 m = w
Lapithos	2	10	6 weiblich
			2 männlich
			2 m = w
			1 m = w
Marion	-	1	-

\*Geschlecht nicht bestimmbar. m = männlich, w = weiblich.

## Ergebnisse

### Alter und Geschlecht der Individuen

Unter den Skeletten sind fast sämtliche Altersgruppen vorhanden: vom Kleinkindes- bis zum Erwachsenenalter. Hingegen fehlen Skelette von Neugeborenen und Feten.

Erwachsene männliche und weibliche Individuen sind in jedem Fundort repräsentiert. Die Anzahl männlicher und weiblicher Skelette zeigt eine annähernd gleichmäßige Verteilung der Geschlechter (Tabelle 1). Als Ausnahme fanden sich in Lapithos sechs weibliche und zwei männliche Individuen.

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß die untersuchten Individuen nur einen Teil der ausgegrabenen Skellette repräsentieren und daher nicht repräsentative für die Gesamtpopulation sein müssen, sind demografische Aussagen und Vergleich zwischen den Populationen nicht möglich.

## Krankheitsprozesse

Die Skelette zeigen zahlreiche Spuren verschiedener Krankheiten und Krankheitsprozesse auf: Anämie, Skorbut bzw. Morbus Möller-Barlow, Tuberkulose im Sinne einer *Leptomeningitis tuberculosa*, unspezifische Entzündungsprozesse und hämorrhagische Prozesse im Bereich der Hirnhäute, Entzündungen der Nasennebenhöhlen (*Sinusitis maxillaris* und *Sinusitis frontalis*), Entzündungen der Nasenhöhle (*Rhinitis*), Entzündungen des harten Gaumens (*Stomatitis*), Entzündungen des Mittelohrs und des Warzenfortsatzes (*Otitis media* und *Mastoiditis*), Entzündungen der Orbitadächer im Sinne möglicher Orbitalphlegmone, Zahnpathologien



Abb. 1. Ayios Iakovos, Zypern. Grab 8, Kranium 30. Subadult 12–16 Jahre alt. Rechtes Orbitadach. Poröse Oberfläche (Pfeile). *Cribra orbitalia* im Sinne einer Anämie. (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis)

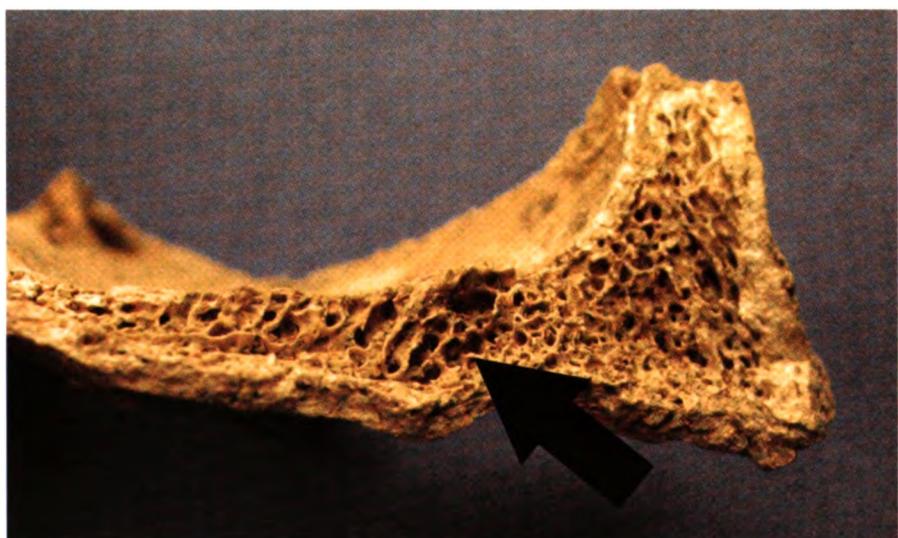


Abb. 2. Ayios Iakovos, Zypern. Grab 8, Kranium 30. 12–16 Jahre alt. Frontalschnitt durch das rechte Orbitadach. Vergrößerte Diploeràume nach einer Hypertrophie des roten Knochenmarks (Pfeil). Spuren nach einer Anämie. (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis)

und Parodontopathien (Abszesse, Karies, Zahnsteinbefall, Hyperzementosis, Proliferation von Sekundärdentin, Schmelzhypoplasien, schwere Abrasion, Parodontitis und Parodontose) und Trauma.

#### Anämie

Eine Anämie ist nur bei subadulten Individuen dreier Populationen gefunden worden: Ajios Iakovos ( $n = 6/16$ ), Amathus ( $n = 1/4$ ) und Enkomi ( $n = 1/3$ ). Vom Ajios Iakovos stammen zwei erwachsene Individuen mit Verdacht auf Anämie. Eine mikroskopische Untersuchung könnte den Verdacht klären. Ein subadultes Individuum (12 – 16 Jahre alt) aus Ayios Iakovos (Grab 8, Cranium 30) zeigt eine deutlich ausgeprägte Anämie. Am Orbitadach zeigt sich in Form einer porösen Oberfläche das morphologische Bild einer *Cribra orbitalia* (Abb. 1). Diese Morphologie ist primär aber nicht pathognostisch für eine Anämie, da verschiedene Krankheitsprozesse, z.B. Anämie, Skorbut, Rachitis, Entzündungen oder postmortale Bodenerosion ähnliche morphologische Strukturen bewirken können.<sup>3</sup> Bei Betrachtung der Bruchflächen dieses Orbitadaches sind aber die vergrößerten Diploeràume, die rechtwinklig zur Oberfläche ausgerichtet sind, gut zu erkennen. (Abb. 2). Dieser Befund ist für eine durch Anämie verursachte Läsion charakteristisch.<sup>4</sup> Eine mögliche Ursache der Anämie ist die mangelhafte Produktion von Erythrozyten. Der Organismus kompensiert diesen Verlust mit einer erhöhten Produktion von Erythrozyten. Eine Folge ist die Vermehrung des roten Knochenmarkes und somit eine Vergrößerung der Räume des hämatopoetischen Systems.

Dies betreffen vor allem der Diploë des Schädelns und die Spongiosa des Postcraniuns. Im Stadium der chronischen Anämie wird die das Knochenmark umschließende Corticalis bzw. Compacta infolge druckatrophischer Prozesse dünn und porös.<sup>5</sup>

Einen typischen Fall einer chronischen Anämie weist das Skelett eines 2–5 Jahre alten Kindes aus Amathus auf. Die Spongiosatrabekel der expandierenden Diploë des Stirnbeins waren rechtwinklig zur *Lamina externa* nach außen gewachsen (Abb. 3). Die Anordnung der Spongiosatrabekel gibt die Expansionsrichtung des sich ausbreitenden Knochenmarks an. Allerdings befand sich der Krankheitsprozess zum Todeszeitpunkt dieses Kindes schon in Abheilung. Dies kann aus dem Zustand der *Lamina externa* des Schädeldachs geschlossen werden, da sie keine Porosität mehr aufweist. Die Diploëräume befanden sind somit nicht mehr in einer Expansionsphase. Das Kind hatte also die Krankheit eine gewisse Zeit lang überlebt.

#### *Meningealer Reizung entzündlicher und hämorrhagischer Natur*

Meningeale Reizungen können entweder aus entzündlichen und/oder hämorrhagischen Prozessen resultieren. Nicht selten treten beide Prozesse gleichzeitig auf oder folgen nacheinander.<sup>6</sup> Die knöchernen Produkte solcher Prozesse sind makroskopisch nicht immer deutlich voneinander differenzierbar. Oft ist eine mikroskopische Untersuchung notwendig, um eine zweifelsfreie Diagnose zu stellen.<sup>7</sup> Die in dieser Studie untersuchten Skelette zeigen eine hohe Frequenz an Spuren meningealer Reizungen bzw. krankhaften Prozessen des der harten



Abb. 3. Amathus, Zypern. Grab 23. Kranium 15. Subadult 2–5 Jahre alt. Frontalschnitt durch das linke Stirnbein (*Os frontale*). Vergrößerte Diploëräume nach Hypertrophie des roten Knochenmarks (schwarzer Pfeil). Normale Diploëräume des roten Knochenmarks (weißer Pfeil). Spuren nach einer Anämie. (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis).

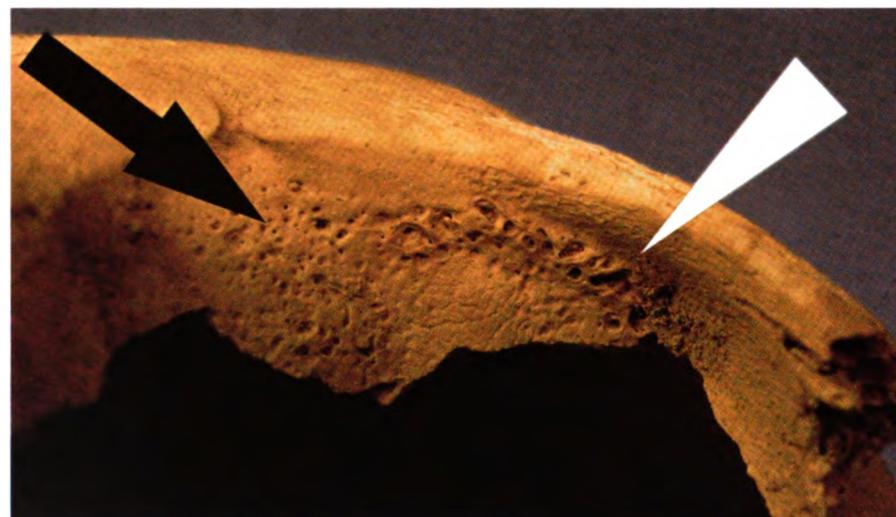


Abb. 4. Ayios Iakovos, Zypern. Grab 14, Kranium 8. Subadult 7–11 Jahre alt. Linke Orbitadach. Spuren zweier Krankheitsprozesse. 1) Poröse Auflagerung neugebildeten Knochens (schwarzer Pfeil). Spuren eines sekundär knöchern organisierten Hämatoms. Verdacht auf Skorbut. 2) Poröse Oberfläche durch vergrößerte Diploëräume nach Hypertrophie des roten Knochenmarks (weiße Pfeilspitze). Spuren nach einer Anämie. (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis).



Abb. 5. Kirchberg, Hessen, Deutschland. Grab 32. Schnitt durch die rechte Seite des Schädeldaches (*Os parietale*). Eingescannter Dünnschliff. Spuren eines sekundär knöchern organisierten Hämatoms in Form einer porösen Auflagerung auf der *Lamina externa* (schwarze Pfeile). Ursprüngliche Oberfläche des Schädeldaches, *Lamina externa*, ohne poröse Auflagerungen (schwarze Pfeilspitze). (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis).

**Hirnhaut (*Dura mater*).** Insgesamt 26 Individuen sind von diesen Veränderungen betroffen. In Ayios Iakovos waren sieben Erwachsene ( $n = 7/18$ ) und drei Kinder ( $n = 3/13$ ) erkrankt. In Amathus zeigen fünf von sieben Erwachsenen und eines der zwei subadulten Individuen Veränderungen, die durch meningeale Reizungen verursacht worden sein dürften. Spuren entzündlicher Prozesse sind ausschließlich bei den erwachsenen Individuen zu finden, während die subadulten Individuen ausschließlich Spuren hämorrhagischer Prozesse zeigen. Ein typisches Beispiel für einen hämorrhagischen Prozesses ist in Abbildung 4 dargestellt. Ein junges Individuum (7–11 Jahre alt) aus Ayios Iakovos zeigt eine poröse Auflagerung auf dem medialen Abschnitt des linken Orbitadaches. Zusätzlich ist die ursprüngliche *Corticalis* des Augenhöhlendaches noch durch eine poröse Oberfläche gekennzeichnet, die auf eine gleichzeitig bestehende Anämie zurückgeführt werden kann.

Ein Beispiel für die mikroskopische Struktur eines solchen sekundär knöchern umgebauten Hämatoms ist in Abbildungen 5 und 6 anhand eines mittelalterlichen Falles aus Kirchberg (Hessen, Deutschland) dargestellt. Auf der *Lamina externa* des Schädeldaches

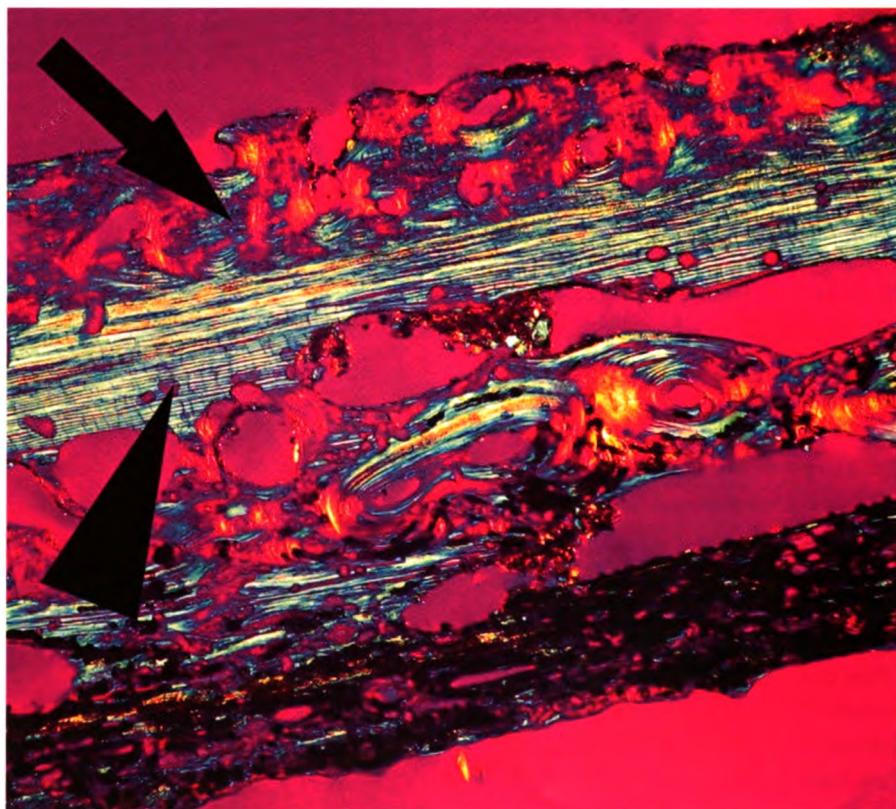


Abb. 6. Kirchberg, Hessen, Deutschland. Grab 32. Subadult, 1–2 Jahre alt. Vergrößerung von Abb. 5 (im Bereich der linken Pfeile). Knochen-dünnschliff ( $50 \mu\text{m}$ ), betrachtet im Lichtmikroskop unter polarisiertem Licht mit zusätzlichem Hilfsobjekt Rot 1. Ordnung (Quartz) als Kompenator. Vergrößerung ca. 65x. Die Spuren eines sekundär knöchern organisierten Hämatoms in Form einer porösen Auflagerung (schwarzer Pfeil) sind auf der ursprünglichen Oberfläche des Schädeldaches, *Lamina externa*, deutlich zu erkennen (die schwarze Pfeilspitze markiert die regelmäßig aufgebauten Lamellen der *Lamina externa*). (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis).

befindet sich eine neugebildete Knochenschicht aus Lamellenknochen (dichter Osteonknochen), der sich auf die äußere Schicht der *Lamina externa* aufgelagert hat. Die Morphologie des durch subperiostalen Wachstums entstandenen Knochens ist typisch für die knöcherne Umbildung eines bindegewebigen Organisationsstadiums eines ehemaligen Hämatoms.<sup>8</sup> Eine generalisierte Ausbreitung hämorrhagischer Prozesse, die an diesem Skelett in charakteristischer Weise zu beobachten ist, kann als Zeichen einer systemische Erkrankung aufgefaßt werden wie beispielsweise eine chronische C-Avitaminose (= Morbus Möller-Barlow Krankheit = kindlicher Skorbut).

Bei den entzündungsbedingten Läsionen kommen als Ursache auch spezifische Infektionen (z.B. Tuberkuloseinfektion) in Betracht. Diese zeigen sich als kleine Grübchen auf der *Lamina interna* des Schädelbasis und sind Spuren einer *Leptomeningitis tuberculosa*.<sup>9</sup> Individuen mit solchen Läsionen sind in den Populationen von Amathus, Enkomi, Kythrea und Lapithos zu finden.

#### *Spuren von Entzündungen der oberen Atemwege und anderer Knochen des Gesichtsschädelns*

Spuren von Entzündungen der oberen Atemwege, z.B der Nasenhöhle und der Nasennebenhöhlen, und der Knochen des Mittelohres, lassen sich häufig in archäologischen Skelettfunden nachweisen.<sup>10</sup> Knochenentzündungen in diesen Regionen finden wir auch an den untersuchten Skeletten aus Zypern. Knochenveränderungen auf dem Nasenboden (Zeichen einer Rhinitis) und Spuren der *Sinusitis frontalis* finden wir in Ayios Iakovos,

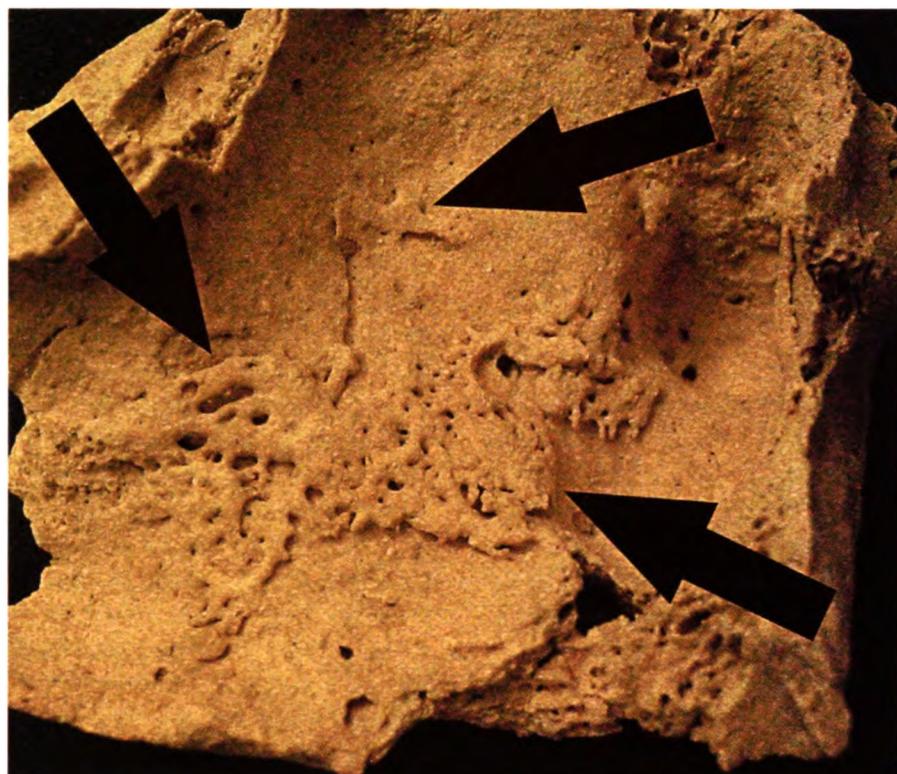


Abb. 7. Lapithos, Zypern. Grab 601. Rechter *Sinus maxillaris*. Plattenartige Auflagerungen auf der Wand des Sinus (schwarze Pfeile). Spuren einer chronischen Sinusitis. (Foto: Nikolaos Roumelis).

Amathus und in Enkomi, nicht aber in Lapithos. Eine Ausbreitung solcher Entzündung in den Endocranialraum (meningeale Reizungen) ist nicht selten und kann lebensbedrohliche Zustände verursachen.<sup>11</sup> Fälle von *Sinusitis maxillaris* finden wir in den Populationen von Ayios Iakovos, Amathus, Enkomi und Lapithos. Offenbar waren die Erwachsenen häufiger erkrankt als die subadulte Individuen. In Ayios Iakovos waren fünf von sechs Erwachsenen betroffen, in Enkomi vier von vier Erwachsenen. Bei den subadulten Individuen waren aus Ayios Iakovos zwei von sechs Individuen erkrankt. Aus Lapithos soll das Individuum aus Grab 601 als Beispiel einer chronischen *Sinusitis maxillaris*

ausführlicher beschrieben werden (Abb. 7). Auf der Wand des Sinus sind plattenartige Knochenaufklagerungen zu finden. Diese sind deutlich von der ansonsten glatten Oberfläche der Sinuswand abgrenzbar. Zwischen den Rändern der Auflagerung und der Sinuswand ist ein Spalt; teilweise ist die Auflagerung aber auch schon in die ursprüngliche Oberfläche integriert worden (makroskopisch sichtbar). Eine mikroskopische Untersuchung könnte eine mögliche Beteiligung der knöchernen Wand des Sinus belegen, um den Umfang und die Ausbreitung der Entzündung in dieser Region der Nasennebenhöhle festzustellen. Eine primäre Entzündung (z.B. eine akute Entzündung) kann sich zu einem ch-

ronischen Zustand weiterentwickeln.<sup>12</sup> Eine chronische Entzündung der Knochenhaut (*Periostitis*) hinterläßt, in der Regel, Spuren in Form neu gebildeten Knochens.<sup>13</sup> Eine Entzündung kann sich auch in Bereiche des roten oder weißen Knochenmarks ausbreiten. Dies führt zu einer *Osteomyelitis*.<sup>14</sup> Eine Osteomyelitis im Bereich des Gesichtsschädels kann einen lebensbedrohlichen Zustand darstellen. Der Krankheitsverlauf ist in der Regel schnell und zerstörend. Die Erreger können in Nachbarorgane einwandern, z.B. in den Bereich der Meningen und eine *Meningitis* bzw. eine *Meningoencephalitis* verursachen.<sup>15</sup> Dringen die Erreger in das Blutgefäßsystem ein, kann der Krankheitsprozeß zu einer Sepsis führen. An den untersuchten Skeletten aus Zypern wurden keine makroskopisch nachweisbaren Spuren osteomyelitischer Prozesse gefunden.

Der Erhaltungszustand der Schädel erlaubt leider keine ausreichende Untersuchung der Siebbein- und Keilbeinstrukturen: So konnten weder die Nasenmuscheln (*Chonchae nasales*), noch andere Teile des *Os ethmoidalis* wie die *Cellulae ethmoidales*, aber auch nicht der *Sinus sphenoidalis* untersucht werden.

### Schlußfolgerung und Zusammenfassung

Ein Teil der osteologischen Sammlung der schwedischen Zypernexpedition wurde untersucht, um einen Einblick in der Paläopathologie des alten Zyperns zu bekommen. Dieses Thema würde ursprünglich in einer „Genderstudie“ problematisiert. Die geringe Stichprobengröße erlaubt aber keine statistische Aussage paläoepidemiologischer oder paläo-

demographischer Zusammenhänge, z.B. Krankheitshäufigkeiten oder Alters- und Geschlechterverteilung. Die geringe Anzahl von Individuen in den verschiedenen Kulturperioden repräsentieren nicht die vollständigen Populationen dieser Epochen. Eine diachrone Darstellung der Krankheitshäufigkeiten in den Populationen aus Zypern kann aufgrund der geringen Individuenzahl nur eine grobe Tendenz wiedergeben. Genauso können die Skelette keine zuverlässigen Hinweise auf die geschlechtspezifische kulturelle Zugehörigkeit („Gender“) der Bestatteten aufzeigen. Eine Untersuchung an der gesamten osteologischen Sammlung mit makroskopischen und mikroskopischen Methoden, z.B. Licht- und Raster-elektronenmikroskopie, wäre nötig, um zuverlässige paläopathologische Aussagen treffen zu können.

Stichproben wie die hier untersuchten 78 Individuen können aber zeigen, welche Krankheiten und Krankheitsprozesse damals aufgetreten sind. Die Untersuchung zeigt viele verschiedene Knochenveränderungen, die auf Grund pathologische Prozesse entstanden sind: Krankheiten wie Anämie und möglicherweise Skorbut bzw. Morbus Möller-Barlow Krankheit; spezifische Infektionen wie Tuberkulose; unspezifische Entzündungen der Nasennebenhöhlen, der Nasenhöhle (*Rhinitis*) und des harten Gaumens im Sinn einer *Stomatitis*, Mittelohrentzündungen und Entzündungen des Warzenfortsatzes (*Otitis media* und *Mastoiditis*), entzündlich und/oder hämorrhagisch bedingte meningeale Reizungen auf der endocranialen Fläche des Schädeldachs (beispielsweise im Sinn einer bakteriellen *Meningitis*); Erkrankungen

der Zähne und des Zahnhalteapparates wie Parodontitis, Parodontose, Abszesse, Karies, Zahnstein, Hyperzementosis, Proliferation von Sekundär dentin, Schmelzhypoplasien und schwere Abrasion; Entzündungen der Orbitadächer im Sinn möglicher Orbitalphlegmone. Spuren traumatischer Einwirkungen an den Schädeln sind Hinweise, daß die Individuen nicht von Gewalt verschont waren.

Tendenzen zu Unterschieden zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Individuen hinsichtlich pathologischer Knochenveränderungen konnten nicht beobachtet werden. Tendenzen zu Unterschieden zwischen Erwachsenen und subadulten Individuen ließen sich dagegen nachweisen. Entzündlich bedingte meningeale Reizungen sind ausschließlich bei Erwachsenen zu beobachten, während hämorrhagisch verursachte Veränderungen den subadulten Skeletten vorbehalten sind. Entzündungen der Nasennebenhöhlen sind häufig bei Erwachsenen, weniger bei Kindern zu sehen. Diese Unterschiede könnten auf altersspezifische Arbeits- bzw. Tätigkeitsmuster hindeuten. Eine Korrelation zwischen der Häufigkeit von Nasennebenhöhlenentzündungen bei den Erwachsenen und der relativ hohe Häufigkeit entzündlicher meningealer Reizungen ist zum vermuten. Ein kausaler Zusammenhang zwischen Erkrankungen des Mittelohres und seiner pneumatischen Räume mit Hirnhautaffektionen kommt ebenfalls in Betracht. Komplikationen in Folge einer Otitis media oder Mastoiditis waren häufig tödliche Erkrankungen in prähistorischen und historischen Zeiten.<sup>16</sup> Untersuchungen an mittelalterlichen Populationen aus Deutschland zeigen eine hohe Häufigkeiten

an Nasennebenhöhlenentzündungen, an meningealen Reizungen und Mittelohrentzündungen.<sup>17</sup> Für die Vor-Antibiotika-Ära ist anzunehmen, daß Entzündungen im Kopfbereich relativ häufig waren, wie z.B. Sinusitiden, Meningitiden usw. Besonders die Hirnhautaffektionen dürften bei der Kindersterblichkeit eine erhebliche Rolle gespielt haben.<sup>18</sup>

Die bisherigen Ergebnisse lassen den Schluß zu, daß in den Populationen aus Zypern ein ausgeprägtes Ernährungsdefizit vorlag. Dies würde das Auftreten von Anämie und den Verdacht auf Skorbut/Morbus Möller-Barlow erklären. Mangelernährung begünstigt eine Schwächung des Immunsystems. Dies wiederum kann die Auftretung anderer Krankheiten fördern. Kinder sind krankheits-

empfindlicher als Erwachsene und entwickeln schneller Knochenveränderungen. Ein Wechsel der biologischen und kulturellen Umweltfaktoren kann einen negativen Einfluß auf das Gesundheitswesen des Menschen bedingen. In solchen Fällen sind Kinder und ältere Menschen als schwächste Glieder einer Gemeinschaft zuerst betroffen.<sup>19</sup> Viele Krankheiten sind milieuspezifisch und werden maßgeblich von komplexen Umweltfaktoren wie beispielsweise Ernährung, Wohnverhältnisse, Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsmuster, Klima und geographische Gegebenheiten, sanitäre und hygienische Einrichtungen bestimmt.<sup>20</sup> Weiterhin spielt nicht nur der physische, sondern auch der psychische Zustand eines Individuums für die Entstehung von Krankheiten eine entscheidende Rolle.

Die makroskopische Untersuchung der hier vorgestellten Skelettfunde hat einen Einblick in die Paläoepidemiologie Zyperns erlaubt. Ein nächster Schritt wäre die Untersuchung der gesamten osteologischen Sammlung der schwedischen Zypern-Expedition mit neueren Methoden der Paläohistopathologie (z.B. mikroskopische Techniken). Mit diesen Methoden könnten Spuren einer Vielzahl von Krankheiten und Krankheitsprozessen untersucht und identifiziert werden, z.B. Infektionskrankheiten wie Treponematosen (z.B. venerische Syphilis) und Tuberkulose oder Mangelkrankungen wie Anämie, Skorbut und Rachitis,<sup>21</sup> sowie Krebserkrankungen.<sup>22</sup>

#### FUSSNOTEN

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# IN THE SHADOW OF THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION AT ANCIENT MARION: THE ISSUE OF ETHNICITY AND CROSS-CULTURAL EXCHANGE

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## Introduction

The charge presented by the organizers of the conference 'Finds and Results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition: A Gender Perspective', was a critical one in that it invited reconsideration of the pioneering work undertaken by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition during the 1920's and 1930's. The mark of any pioneering endeavor means that a base is established from which further exploration can take place, and the Medelhavsmuseet symposium brilliantly allows for that. The latitude of the conference provides for a reassessment of conclusions reached through the Expedition's careful excavation of tomb groups and exploration of sanctuary and city sites at significant places throughout Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Employing an archaeological methodology that was then appropriate for its time, the published results of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition have informed the studies of several generations of scholars whose focus has been the archaeology of ancient Cyprus and the impact that the island made in the eastern Mediterranean arena throughout antiquity.

At the time of its landmark publications, the results of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition sought to ad-

dress particular issues, and these were ones that were regarded as critical at the moment. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century proceeded, the continuing evolution of western society posed significant cultural questions that were a reflection of different contemporary concerns. Issues of gender roles and the subjugation of women, concerns over dominant hegemonies and the suppression of minorities, and questions of nationalism and the rights of subjugated peoples all became apropos. Just as those issues rapidly rose to relevancy in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the questions that those issues raise are quite germane to any world view – including the ancient one.

One of the issues that the Swedish Cyprus Expedition sought to address was the historical consequences of Cyprus' unique geographic location in the eastern Mediterranean. Its insular identity seemingly did little to buffer the island from powerful political entities that nearly surrounded her. Relying on classes of archaeological material found in excavation (and that material was assessed according to artifact typology, iconographic variation, and the presence of what were deemed imported objects), along with epigraphic and literary testimonia,

the Expedition established what was thought to be an accurate appraisal of the interface that Cyprus had with foreign neighbors.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent reconsideration has been given to the actual dynamics of international exchange *vis-à-vis* Cyprus, and more recent archaeological evidence now available allows for an expansion of what the Swedish Cyprus Expedition had bequeathed to scholarship, making it possible to follow the lead of the Expedition, moving ever more close to the reality of ancient Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

## Ancient Marion and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition

One of the key places on the island where the Swedish Cyprus Expedition worked was the ancient site of Marion (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> Located along the northwest coast of the island, the Expedition conducted excavations at Marion for a five-month period from March through July of 1929. Although soundings were undertaken in what was determined to be the city site of Marion and its later successor, Arsinoe,<sup>5</sup> the focus of the Expedition's work were four necropoleis, comprised of tombs dating from the Cypro-Geometric I period through the Hellenistic.<sup>6</sup> The objects recov-

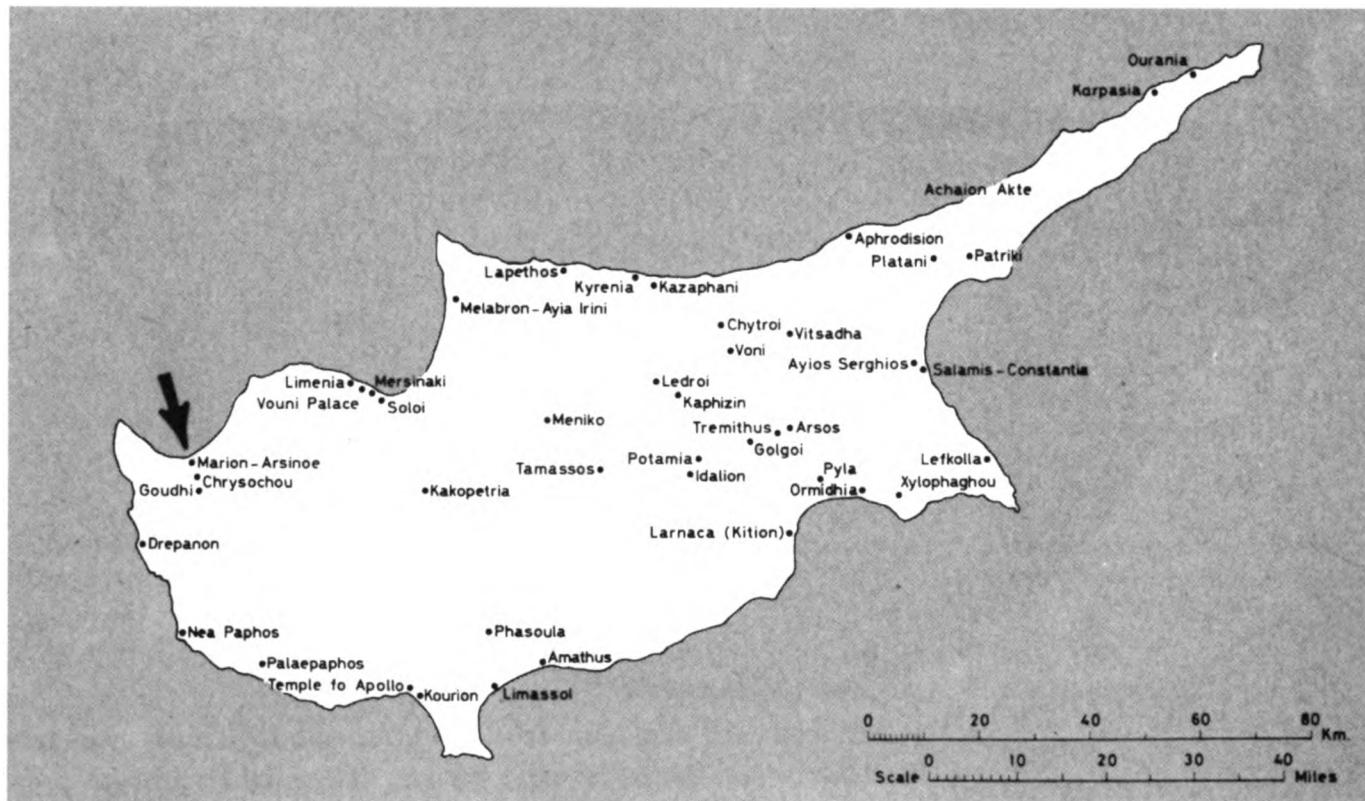


Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus with site of Marion indicated by arrow. (After Karageorghis 1982, fig. 89).

ered from ninety-eight different tomb assemblages were locally made as well as imported, and the Marion material was critical in Gjerstad's historical and cultural sequence for the island.<sup>7</sup> Significant were those objects reflecting foreign artistic styles, and the Marion material, along with other such objects recovered on the island, were considered in light of what they might reflect about relations that Cyprus engaged in with the world beyond her shores.

Gjerstad attempted to use judiciously the material record in tandem with ancient sources and epigraphic testimonia, and certainly those objects manifesting foreign motifs or workmanship bolstered the possibility of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Persian politi-

cal control of the island at key times during the Archaic period. Historical benchmarks provided by significant objects and accounts (e.g. the Stele of Sargon II from Kition, the prism inscription of Esarhaddon, and Herodotus' mention of the subjugation of Cyprus by Amasis) intimated foreign intervention, and Gjerstad posited a significant degree of foreign dominion over Cyprus, exercised by more powerful neighbors.<sup>8</sup> Gjerstad's view of Archaic Cyprus stressed historical and political circumstances, and it fell to later scholars to assess the many objects recovered by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition that reflected Assyrianizing and Egyptianizing motifs as indicative of a more benign interaction that Cyprus engaged in both in-

ternally, with a varied population, and externally, with the outside world that was based on economic and mercantile contacts.<sup>9</sup> The reassessment of the Cypriot material record, considering those objects with a decided foreign flavor and particularly those reflecting Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian styles, now suggests the reality of a reinterpretation of foreign motifs by Phoenician artisans who produced objects to be sold to an island clientele. Subsequent investigation of that clientele reveals a less than discriminating market with purchasers not necessarily savvy in understanding the nuances of foreign iconography.<sup>10</sup>

That certainly seems to have been the case for the several objects that reflected Egyptian motifs recovered in

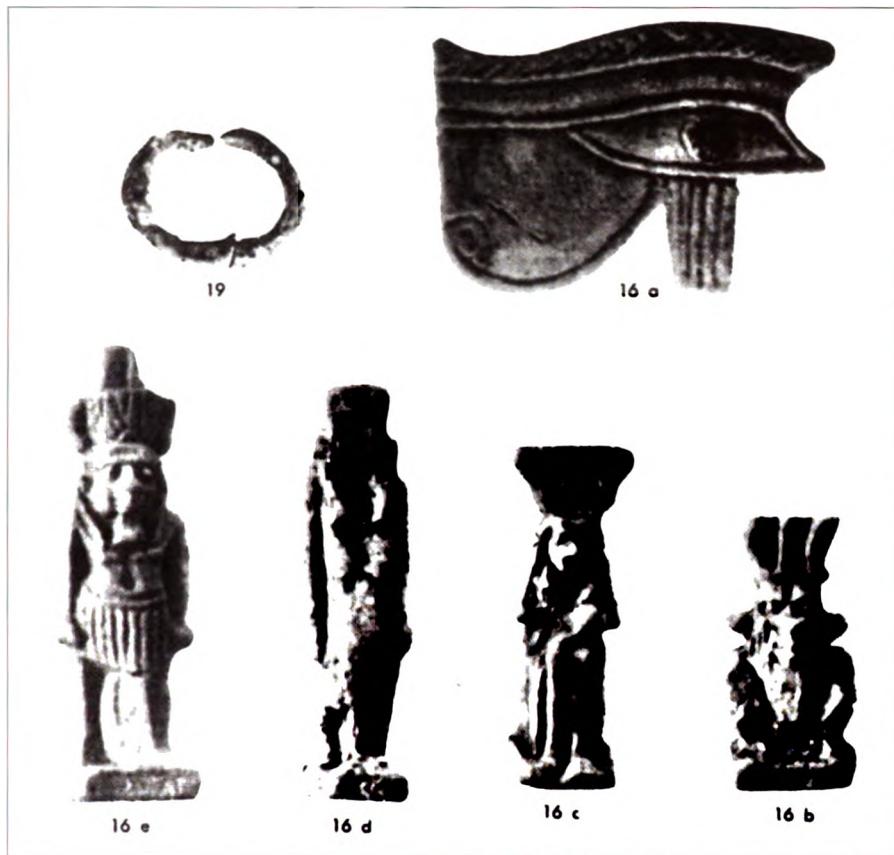


Fig. 2. Part of assemblage from Marion Tomb 50 showing Egyptian amulets. (After Gjerstad et al. 1935, pl. LIX).

Marion tombs excavated by the Expedition. Part of the assemblage from Marion Tomb 50 contained a silver hair ring along with faience pendants and amulets (Fig. 2). Found among a pottery repertoire of Red Slip, Bichrome, and White Painted wares that could be dated to the Cypro-Archaic II period, the *udjat* eye pendant and the representations of Nefertum, Taweret, Hathor, and Bes represented a small cache of Egyptianizing objects in an otherwise undistinguished collection of funerary goods associated with a female burial.<sup>11</sup> The same is true for the anomalous black clay figurine of a laughing Negroid (Fig. 3) found in Marion Tomb 37 with a

bronze *strigil* and White Painted and Red Slip wares dating to the Cypro-Classical II period and interred with five burials.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, the question needs to be raised: What does the presence of faience amulets and the Negroid figurine of unusual fabric from two different Marion tombs say about the occupants? The difficulties in the interpretation of material culture are clearly germane and the literature focusing on how to extract meaning from objects cautions us in investing too much significance to the presence of such objects in funerary contexts.<sup>13</sup> It would be erroneous to assume that the faience amulets and unusual



Fig. 3. Black clay figurine of laughing Negroid. (After Gjerstad et al. 1935, pl. L).

figurine in the Marion tombs signified anything about the occupants other than a proclivity for items that reflected Egyptianizing motifs. That proclivity might have been motivated by any number of factors: the desire for unusual items, the cachet that eastern objects imparted as indicators of wealth and/or status, or a visit to Marion by a trader who had contacts with Egypt – either through Phoenician middlemen or perhaps directly – and those contacts might have been with Naucratis where Greeks had set up a trading enclave c. 570 BC and where a faience factory was known to exist.<sup>14</sup> What seems certain is that the Egyptianizing objects in Marion



Fig. 4. Aerial view of the A.H9 sanctuary and city wall of Marion.  
(Photo courtesy of Princeton Cyprus Expedition, Princeton University).



Fig. 5. Aerial view of the Peristeries sanctuary and bothros. (Photo courtesy of Princeton Cyprus Expedition, Princeton University).

tombs do not have to reflect anything about a direct or sustained Egyptian presence at Marion.<sup>15</sup>

#### Ancient Marion and the Princeton University Cyprus expedition

The recent work undertaken at Marion and Arsinoe subsequent to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's exploration of the site offers additional information about the presence of objects of Egyptian and eastern flavor found in contexts other than funerary, and that information may add to the perspective of the discussion of foreign exchange current in Cyprus that the Expedition's work raised. A team from Princeton University began exploring in 1983 the environs of Polis Chrysochous, and instead of investigating the necropoleis that had been the focus of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition,

the Princeton team directed its efforts to the urban areas of the two cities.<sup>16</sup> Continual fieldwork over two decades has revealed significant aspects of the ancient cities, but critical has been the discovery of two sanctuary complexes (Fig. 4 and 5). One of the sanctuaries (Fig. 4), known as the A.H9 sanctuary because of its location on the Princeton excavation grid plan, existed in multiple phases during the Archaic and Classical periods. Excavation revealed that it was violently destroyed and likely in 312 BC during the subjugation of the city by Ptolemy Soter.<sup>17</sup> Discovered in the debris filling the sanctuary and in the area to the east next to the nearly adjacent city wall were the remains of over 4,000 fragments of votive offerings in the form of terracotta and stone sculpture along with figurines in faience. The other Marion sanctuary (Fig. 5),

known as the Peristeries sanctuary because of its situation on the Peristeries plateau located just on the edge of the modern village of Polis, was also a multi-phased complex and was badly preserved. Dating to the Archaic and early Classical periods, the sanctuary and the vast *bothros* nearby preserved the remains of over 25,000 fragments of votive objects of various media, including stone, metal, faience and terracotta.<sup>18</sup>

#### Votive objects as reflections of ethnicity

Of the many votive objects dedicated in both sanctuaries, the ones of eastern flavor are of interest because of the parallels that can be drawn to similar objects found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in Marion tombs. Among the preserved faience objects (Fig. 6), four are noteworthy: the udjat



Fig. 6. Marion Faience Votives. Udjat Eye Pendant (R1306, A.Hg sanctuary), Bes Pendant (R6850, Peristeries sanctuary), Male Figurine with Kilt (R11700, Peristeries sanctuary), Faience Bottle (R15514, A.Hg sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint).

eye pendant and the faience bottle derive from the A.Hg sanctuary, while the Bes amulet and the striding male wearing a kilt come from the Peristeries sanctuary. Although small in scale, they reflect standard Egyptian types.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, the A.Hg sanctuary, with its elements of *cella*, porch, and forecourt arranged in linear fashion reminiscent of Greek temple design, preserved other votives that were decidedly Greek in inspiration, including an Aphrodite and Eros statuette

that appears to have derived stylistically from the Parthenon east frieze (Fig. 7).<sup>20</sup> The Peristeries sanctuary, with its more rambling arrangement of architectural components suggests derivation from Near Eastern models, and certainly the presence of many of the votives, including ubiquitous examples of the goddess with uplifted arms type but also an Astarte figurine, reflect an eastern inspiration for the cult (Fig. 8).<sup>21</sup>

Certainly items dedicated in sanc-

tuaries are a reflection of the practice of offering tokens to the divinity, a practice widespread throughout the Mediterranean and Near East and diachronic in scope. Rather than investigating how those objects reflected nuances of cult practice or were indicative of the identity of the deity, one might ask what the votives revealed about the identity of the donor. Votive offerings, although commonplace, were regularly anonymous, and in the absence of inscribed dedications



Fig. 7. Aphrodite and Eros Statuette (R1612, A.Hg sanctuary).  
(Photo by N. Serwint).

that might have recorded the donor's name, very little can be inferred about the ethnic identity of the dedicant. Just as those objects reflecting Egyptianizing styles found in Marion tombs might reveal little more than personal taste, the same is true for the practice of small-scale dedications in religious contexts. The monetary investment in votives of small size and common materials, like those reflected in the faience and terracotta objects, is minimal, and their presence in sanctuaries need not say anything other than the idiosyncratic and personal inclination of the dedicant. If this is true for small-sized donations, what of large-scale dedications?

### Votives and the Egyptianizing style

The many Egyptianizing statues found in numerous Cypriot sanctuaries are characteristically male and are of a rather widespread type, geographically fixed to the south and southeastern parts of the island during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>22</sup> Several scholars have entered the discussion of the ethnicity of the sculptors responsible for the fashioning of such objects found in a Cypriot environment, the debt owed to Phoenician votives of similar type, and the penchant of Phoenician and Cypriot artisans for interpreting Egyptian motifs in such a way that makes certain that the intention was not to copy contemporary Egyptian Saïte period forms.<sup>23</sup> The active interchange between Cypriot and Phoenician craftsmen clearly resulted in the availability of costly sculpture of large size to patrons wealthy enough to purchase such objects. Again, the relative absence of inscribed large-scale



Fig. 8. Goddess with Uplifted Arms (R11121) and Astarte Figurine (R4404) from Peristeries sanctuary. (Photo by N. Serwint).

votives makes it difficult to establish the identification of the dedicant, although it is accepted that a resident clientele likely would have been the primary donors. Perhaps a bit of light can be shed on donors' ethnicity by the Cypriot Egyptianizing male statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>24</sup> Said to come from Golgoi, the over-lifesize statue bears an inscription on its left forearm. Written in the Cypriot syllabary, the dedication reads: "Tamigorau" – the genitive of Tamigoras; hence the meaning is "I am [the statue] of Tamigoras".<sup>25</sup>

Although the use of the Cypriot syllabary need not indicate much of the ethnicity of the dedicant, the name certainly does, as Tamigoras is a reflection of a Greek name (Tamigoras is likely a misspelling of Timagoras).<sup>26</sup> In this instance, we have a male donor, who was Greek, and who chose to make an offering that reflected a style that was *au courant* for large-scale male dedications throughout the island.

It is interesting that the majority of large male Egyptianizing statues were offered in sanctuaries beyond urban boundaries, and most of the



Fig. 9. Terracotta Egyptianizing Male Head (R496, A.H9 sanctuary).  
(Photo by N. Serwint).

largest statues in the limestone sculptural corpus were recovered in the vicinity of ancient Golgoi.<sup>27</sup> And it is here that other dedications from the recent Princeton excavations at ancient Marion may be brought to bear on the issue of locus of Cypriot Egyptianizing sculpture. A fragmentary lifesize male head (Fig. 9) found in the destruction debris of the A.H9 sanctuary, preserves part of an

Egyptianizing headdress, possibly a wig, flaring off the proper right side of the head; just below the lower lip are traces of a tuft of hair, certainly the beginning of a beard that would have continued around the damaged line of the right jaw and the now absent chin.<sup>28</sup> Rather than stone, the head is terracotta, and that medium was assuredly dictated by the lack of local deposits of good quality limestone

suitable for sculpture.<sup>29</sup> The sanctuary is sited within a few meters of the ancient city wall (Fig. 4), and although the circuit of the wall has been only sporadically traced, it is likely that the sanctuary complex was an extra-mural one. Elsewhere in the sanctuary, the remains of a well over-lifesize terracotta statue preserving the shoulders, torso, and hips of a male wearing an Egyptianizing kilt were discovered (Fig. 10). Comprised of separately crafted clay drums positioned below the handmade shoulders, the preserved remains indicate that the complete statue would have stood at nearly four meters, exceeding the height of counterparts in stone.<sup>30</sup> Well beyond the concentration of Egyptianizing statues emanating from the south and southeastern parts of the island and also removed from Palaepaphos, considered anomalous for the presence of similar sculpture outside of the Cypriot geographic nucleus for Egyptianizing statues,<sup>31</sup> the Marion terracotta sculpture indicates that even far-removed to the west, the appetite remained keen for the dedication of large-scale statues of Egyptianizing type. It has been argued that the votive type appears to be associated with worship of Apollo-Reshef,<sup>32</sup> although Cypriot cult during the archaic period certainly might have been fluid enough to allow for the incorporation of foreign deities (particularly Phoenician) who reflected characteristics akin to the Cypriot divinity.<sup>33</sup> Whether the dedicants of the Marion Egyptianizing sculpture were foreign residents or members of a longstanding local community, the choice of the type of statue need not say anything about adherence to a cult, foreign or local, and may signify

again that the donors of such statues made their choice of dedication based on what was currently being done elsewhere on the island.

If the Marion Egyptianizing sculpture had been known to members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, certainly Gjerstad would have considered the material in his assessment of the historical circumstances of the island during the archaic period. The evidence from the Marion sanctuary, although important in its demonstration of the continuation of the practice of dedications of male statues of Egyptianizing type, does not necessarily move the discussion about ethnicity any further along. However, two additional terracotta votives from recent excavations do. A nearly lifesize female head (Fig. 11 and 12) was discovered outside of, but in association with, the Peristeries sanctuary.<sup>34</sup> It bears distinctive features that are almost unique, and the head reflects a breadth across the face and chin that is lacking for other Cypriot female heads dating to the second half of the sixth century. Although the tip of the nose was broken and since repaired, the nose is broad. The lips, especially seen in profile, are fleshy and appear almost pursed. The eyes are rather large, and in a technique not often seen in terracotta sculpture, the orb of the eye reflects fugitive traces of white paint, as though to highlight the white of the eye, distinguishing it from the painted iris. Most distinctive is the treatment of the hair. Held in place by a broad diadem, the hair is delineated by a repetitive chevron pattern, with individual plaited locks falling onto the forehead, as though a mat of hair. Seen from the top and back (Fig. 12), the closely packed



Fig. 10. Colossal Egyptianizing Male Statue (R12084, R3247, R12086, R12085; A.H9 sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint).



Fig. 11. Female Head with Nubian Features (R9913, Peristeries sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint).

incised chevrons define a hair pattern that is tightly massed, and the stain of pigment that now looks brown belies the fact that the hair was originally painted black. The ragged break at the neck as well as the outward flair of the neck indicate that the head was part of a larger, lifesize statue.

The Marion head, with its distinctive hair treatment and physiognomy, finds its closest parallels in contemporary Nubian sculpture.<sup>35</sup> Nearly identical in date are a precious few statuettes found in Cyprus in both terracotta and limestone that date to the sixth century BC and reflect Negroid features.<sup>36</sup> The Cypriot

statuettes and the Marion head clearly hark back to the rise in Nubian power in the eastern Mediterranean. The Kushite period in Egypt (760–664 BC) had witnessed a century long renaissance in Egyptian art along with the dominance of ancient Nubia and the power that the kings ruling from Napata had exerted on the Egyptian throne.<sup>37</sup> During the twenty-six year reign of King Taharqa (690–664 BC), Nubian power was at its height. It was in 674 BC when King Esarhaddon of Assyria marched on Egypt and was met by Taharqa, who ultimately was routed by the Assyrians when they took Memphis in 671 BC. With Taha-

rqa fleeing back to Nubia and Assyrian authorities staunching challenges to their presence in Egypt, nevertheless, the influence of Nubia remained behind the scenes. When the Assyrians appointed Psammetichos I as pharaoh, he took an Ethiopian as a princess, and it should be remembered that it was Psammetichos who opened up Naucratis to foreign trade, paving the way for a Greek and possibly a Cypriot enclave there.<sup>38</sup> Although disputed how much Egyptian political influence was exerted on Cyprus when the Pharaoh Amasis seized the island and demanded tribute, possibly in 570 BC as reported



Fig. 12. Female Head with Nubian Features, top and back (R9913, Peristeries sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint).

by Herodotus,<sup>39</sup> it is also reported that some Ethiopians had been appointed to serve as administrators in Cyprus, clearing indicating an Ethiopian presence attested for the island.

Returning back to the Marion head, stylistically the head should date to the second half of the sixth century BC. The fact that it is life-size indicates that it belonged to the largest statue yet attested on the island that bore Nubian (or perhaps Ethiopian?) traits. Telling is the fact that the diadem holding the hair in place was decorated; microscopic analysis has revealed fugitive traces of yellow pigment, indicating that the

diadem was represented as golden. The wealth of the dedicant, coupled with the fact that the idiosyncratic features represented here (the tightly coiled hair, fleshy lips, splayed nose, and pronounced brow) were not the stylistic norm for female dedications on the island during the latter half of the sixth century, argue for a specific ethnic identification for the Marion terracotta head.

#### Votive objects and the Levantine style

Another Marion head is equally distinctive and reflects an altogether different ethnic type (Fig. 13).<sup>40</sup> Also

crafted from clay, the head is nearly one-third lifesize and was discovered in the *bothros* associated with the Peristeries sanctuary. Broken at the bottom of its neck, the head was part of a larger sculptural unit. Characterized by an elongated oval face, the large, almond-shaped eyes project below bushy eyebrows. The slightly parted mouth reflects thin upper and lower lips. Adorned with jewelry, the ears are decorated with multiple earrings, and a small beaded necklace is worn at the throat. The unusual presence of a nose ring should be noted, and equally extraordinary is the length of the nose and its angu-

lar profile. An entirely different hair arrangement is depicted with a row of tight curls framing the forehead, while twisted strands of jet black hair frame the sides of the face. The hair is bound in place with what appears to be a cloth wrap, and a multi-tiered headdress rises from the forehead. On the back of the head, the hair is defined by linear striations, bisected by a long, central part, while a vent hole is present at the crown of the head.

Comparing the two Marion heads, it is clear that different hair textures were intended. On the one, strands that were pliable implying hair that was naturally straight, were suggested, while the other with its closely-knit incised repetitive pattern reflects a coarser textured hair that was tightly curled. The ethnic traits reflected in the latter Marion head (Fig. 13)

are certainly eastern and Semitic in representation, and the presence of the nose ring adds credence to the identification. Nose piercing is thought to have originated in the Near East, with piercing of the *septum*, the bridge, and the wings all possible. The earliest literary mention of nose rings occurs in *Genesis* 24:22 when the servant of Abraham gives a gold nose ring to Rebecca to purchase her as wife for Isaac. The heavy necklaces adorning females reflected on other Cypriot female votive statues have been accepted as signifying Near Eastern practice, but what is essential to note is nose rings were not part of the usual decorative ensemble.<sup>41</sup> Nose rings, however, were not unusual in the corpus of Phoenician female sculpture, with the best examples found on Ibiza.<sup>42</sup>

The latter Marion head also is significant in the manufacturing technique used to craft the complete statuette. In the course of excavation, near the head was found a headless torso with an open socket at the neck (Fig. 14).<sup>43</sup> The head, with its projecting tenon, fit precisely into the torso, with the hair on the proper left side of the neck matching the hair strand on the left shoulder; also found nearby was the remainder of the necklace that matched exactly the slight depression present on the upper torso of the figure, just above the neckline of the gown. The use of a neck tenon to secure a head into a separate torso ultimately derives from an established eastern ivory working technique and is considerably different from the usual method of joining head to body in the Cypriot coroplastic repertoire.

Fig. 13. Female Head with Levantine Features (R11662, Peristeries sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint).





Fig. 14. Female Head with Levantine Features and Body (R11662, R11666, Peristeries sanctuary). (Photo by N. Serwint)

which uses the additional application of clay on the exterior to secure the juncture of individually made parts.

The anomalies of this second Marion head, both the unusual neck tenon and the details of hair and physiognomy point to an ethnic heritage beyond the island. The combination of the exceptional features of this head cannot be explained by a casual personal predilection for a statuette reflecting an eastern flavor. The specificity that is expressed in this head goes well beyond other Cypriot votives that reflect generalities of Near Eastern motifs, and for female votive sculpture, those generalities

were present in jewelry and dress but never facial features or coiffure. The selection of quite unique features for this offering says something about the specific dedicatory of this votive.

#### Conclusion

Within the last decade there has been an emerging literature focusing on the question of ethnicity in the ancient world.<sup>44</sup> Cultural identity in antiquity could be interpreted and perceived in many different ways, however, the criteria for Hellenic identity as maintained by Herodotus were language, religion, and culture.<sup>45</sup> Those criteria are not at all helpful when it comes to

the situation on Cyprus, for there is every reason to believe that residents may have been multi-lingual, and cult practice in many Cypriot sanctuaries appears to have been fluid enough to allow for votives of rather ambiguous type that could be appropriate to a local god as well as foreign manifestations of the divinity. The situation is even more difficult in Cyprus, especially during the Archaic period, when the widespread local taste for foreign styles complicates the issue of the identity of purchasers of foreign made items and donors of votive objects reflecting foreign motifs. However difficult it might be to utilize the material

record to say anything about ethnicity, it is precisely in the representation of physiognomies that we can be sure that artisans were clearly capturing specifics of appearance, specifics which differentiated people from each other that indicated either racial types or particular geographic origins.

The archaeological work done at ancient Marion, in the shadow of the

earlier exploration by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, has uncovered several important objects that are critical for understanding the cultural climate of Cyprus during the Archaic period. Certainly indicative of the reception to foreign styles, in particular the two female heads, reflecting Nubian and Levantine features respectively, argue for a more direct presence of a foreign

population resident at Marion. What Gjerstad might have made of these heads as he explained the cultural make-up of the island is difficult to say, but they are offered here as testimony to the veracity that Cyprus embraced a cultural pluralism during the Archaic period, confirming an ethnic mix that embraced a multiplicity of peoples.

#### *Acknowledgements*

I should like to thank the Medelhavsmuseet for the considerable efforts as well as the graciousness that guaranteed the success of the symposium.

#### NOTES

- 1 Many volumes are key but, in particular, see Gjerstad et al. 1935 for an assessment of explored necropoleis at Amathus, Stylli, Marion, and Idalion, as well as the western acropolis at Idalion and the crucial presentation of the explored remains of the sanctuary at Ajia Irini.
- 2 Critical has been Gjerstad's chronological sequences and historical survey for the Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic, and Cypro-Classical periods with some of the conclusions still serving scholars well; see Gjerstad 1948.
- 3 Legion have been the number of international congresses, monographs, and articles concerned with the issue of Cyprus and foreign exchange. Essential scholarship remains Gjerstad 1948; Hill 1940–1952; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973; Karageorghis 1979, 1982, 1986, 1989 and 1994; Catling 1980; Knapp and Stech 1985; Peltenburg 1989; Tatton-Brown 1979

and 1989; Hunt 1990; Karageorghis and Michaelides 1995; Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 1997; and Steel 2004.

- 4 Although the location of Marion had been disputed in earlier scholarship, the abundance of archaeological remains and the numismatic evidence suggest that the ancient city was sited in the vicinity of the modern village of Polis Chrysochous; see Gjerstad et al. 1935 and Childs 1988 and 1997. A succinct summary of ancient Marion is offered by Nicolaou 1976. For a discussion of the issues relative to the establishment of Marion as one of the city kingdoms of Cyprus, see Rupp 1987.
- 5 Marion was destroyed in 312 BC during the wars of the Diadochoi when Ptolemy Soter razed the city because of its loyalties to Antigonos; see Diod. Sic. 19.79.4. A later foundation, Arsinoe, was established in 270 BC by Ptolemy II Philadelphos to honor his sister/wife; Strabo 14.6.3 (683) comments on specifics of the city. Nicolaou (1976) provides a brief account of the location of Arsinoe in relation to its predecessor.
- 6 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 181–459. For archaeological investigation prior to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's

exploration at Marion/Arsinoe, see Herrmann 1888, Munro and Tubbs 1890, Munro 1891, and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.

- 7 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 455–459; Gjerstad 1948, 226–507.
- 8 Gjerstad 1948, 449–478.
- 9 Reyes (1994) offers an invaluable reconsideration of the archaeological and textual evidence for Cyprus during the Archaic period and would establish that although the interchange between Cyprus and powerful neighbors was significant, that interchange reflected a dynamic that was based on economic intercourse rather than political constraints.
- 10 See Markoe (1985) for a most cogent discussion of the Phoenician reinterpretation of Egyptian and Near Eastern motifs as reflected on the corpus of metal bowls from Cypriot and other Mediterranean contexts. Moscati (1988) and Markoe (2000) provide a more focused treatment of Phoenician art and material culture.
- 11 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 320–322, pls. LIX–LX.
- 12 Gjerstad et al. 1935, 278–282, pl. L.
- 13 Among the vast literature that treats the issue of the interpretation of material culture, see Hodder and Hutson 2003 with special attention to their superlative bibliography.

14 A faience workshop was discovered by Petrie during his exploration of Naucratis from 1884 to 1886 on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Located in proximity to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, the workshop contained a quantity of amulets and scarabs, and Petrie noted that many of the items were not purely Egyptian in their iconography but perhaps reflected a Greek interpretation of Egyptian motifs. The associated Greek pottery suggested a date from the late seventh century to the second half of the sixth century for the duration of production, with no indication that manufacture continued after the Persian invasion of 525 BC; see Petrie 1886. Recent exploration at Naucratis has identified fragments of faience vessels as well as beads and figurines from the site dating to the Ptolemaic Period (Leonard 1997, 297–298; Leonard 2001, 194–201).

15 Although faience figurines of the type found in the Marion tombs were common in assemblages of contemporary Egyptian burials, their presence at Marion in tombs with inhumation burials would argue for divorcing such objects from the committed belief in the afterlife as espoused in Egyptian religion.

16 The Princeton excavation continues to be directed by Dr. William A.P. Childs; for a discussion of the work done at the site, see Childs 1988; Childs 1997.

17 For a discussion of the archaeology of the sanctuary, see Childs 1988; Childs 1997. The date of the destruction of the complex is suggested primarily by the votive sculpture found in the debris, with the latest objects stylistically dating to the second half of the fourth century BC; see Serwint 1991; Serwint 1992; Serwint 1993.

18 Childs (1997) and Smith (1997) offer a summary of the archaeology of the sanctuary. For a review of some of the terracotta sculptural votives from the complex, see Serwint 1991; Serwint 1992.

19 Udjat Eye Pendant (\*R1306):  
 PH (preserved height) = 2.20 cm.  
 PW (preserved width) = 3.00 cm.  
 PT (preserved thickness) = 0.80 cm.

Faience Bottle (R15514):  
 PH = 5.36 cm.  
 PW = 6.33 cm.  
 PD (preserved depth) = 4.31 cm.

Bes Amulet (R6850):  
 PH = 1.04 cm.  
 PW = 0.82 cm.

Male Figuring with Kilt (R11700):  
 PH = 6.10 cm.  
 PW = 3.30 cm.  
 PT = 1.65 cm.

\* The R number reflects the object's registry number in the Princeton Cyprus Expedition registry database.

20 See Serwint (1993) for a discussion of the statuette and its association to the possible cult practiced in the A.Hg sanctuary.

Aphrodite and Eros Statuette (R1612):  
 PH = 38.40 cm.  
 PW = 15.70 cm.

21 Study of the votive objects from the Peristeries sanctuary continues, but an assessment of the terracotta votives from the complex suggests the presence of over 1,000 examples of the goddess with uplifted arms type that were dedicated throughout the duration of the sanctuary.

Female Figurine (R11121):  
 PH = 7.74 cm.  
 PW = 3.64 cm.

Astarte Figurine (R4404):  
 PH = 9.71 cm.  
 PW = 6.10 cm.

22 Faegersten 2003, 263. Faegersten's publication on limestone male statues found in Cyprus bearing Egyptianizing motifs will remain the critical work on the subject with its thorough treatment of stylistic commonalities, iconography, and geographic locus of the Cypriot material.

23 Faegersten 2003; Markoe 1987 and 1990.

24 Inv. 74.51.2467; provenance Golgoi (Ayios Photios). See Karageorghis (2000, 116, cat. 181, fig. 181) and Faegersten (2003, 279, cat. 24, pl. 7:1).

25 Faegersten 2003, 279; Karageorghis 2000, 116.

26 Faegersten 2003, 252.

27 Faegersten 2003, 109–143. Faegersten (2003, 135–136) further notes that the concentration of large-scale limestone male sculpture in the eastern part of the island reflects the proximal relationship to the limestone quarries in the Mesaoreia Plain.

28 Terracotta Male Egyptianizing Head (R496):  
 PH = 22.80 cm.  
 PW = 19.00 cm.

29 Because of the dearth of quality stone, artisans made use of the plentiful clay deposits in the area that resulted in the votive corpus from the Marion sanctuaries being primarily terracotta.

30 Serwint 2000. Terracotta Male Egyptianizing Statue:

Shoulders (R12084):  
 PH = 37.80 cm.  
 PW = 88.50 cm.

Upper Torso (R3247):  
 PH = 39.10 cm.  
 PW = 57.50 cm.

Lower Torso (R12086):  
 PH = 51.10 cm.  
 PW = 48.70 cm.

Hips with Kilt (R12085)  
 PH = 51.80 cm.  
 PW = 49.10 cm.

The variation in the surface color of the fragments is due to different preservation treatments by different conservators.

31 Faegersten 2003, 263.

32 Faegersten 2003, 213–261.

33 The identification of the deity worshipped in the A.Hg sanctuary has not been conclusively established, however, the argument has been made, based on literary and numismatic evidence, that the focus of the cult may have been Zeus and Aphrodite (Serwint 1993, 209).

34 Female Head with Nubian Features (R9913):  
 PH = 24.05 cm.  
 PW = 16.50 cm.

35 Wildung 1997; Welsby and Anderson 2004.

36 Karageorghis 1988, cat. 14, 15, 16 and 17. Two of the statuettes cited

by Karageorghis (1988, cat. 14 and 15) are termed "Ethiopian" and were discovered at Ajia Irini; they are fashioned from limestone and cat. 15 is now in the Medelhavsmuseet. Cat. 16 is a terracotta statuette and in addition to idiosyncratic details of beard and lips, the figure clutches an ankh to his body; this votive also was found at Ajia Irini and is housed in the Medelhavsmuseet collection. Cat. 17 is a terracotta statuette of a mother holding a child, reflecting Negroid facial features and distinctive hair; it is now in the Cyprus Museum (C238).

37 Shinnie 1996; Baines and Málek 1988, 49-51.

38 Reyes 1994, 79.

39 Herodotus 2.182.2.

40 Female Head with Levantine Features (R11662):  
PH = 16.20 cm.  
PW = 9.98 cm.

41 For representatives of the type of draped female votives with heavy necklaces, see Karageorghis 2000, cat. 184, and Caubet, Hermary & Karageorghis 1992, cat. 153, cat. 157, and cat. 158.

42 See Moscati 1988, cat. 787 and cat. 789.

43 Female Statuette (R11666):  
PH = 20.50 cm.  
PW = 12.50 cm.

44 Critical literature for the discussion of ethnic identity of the ancient Greeks and their neighbors is offered by Hall 1997; Hall 2002; Malkin 2001; Dougherty and Kurke 2003. It bears repeating that the term "ethnicity" is a modern construction and may have arisen in 1942 in response to World War II categorizations of people on the basis of physical appearance, race, and mental and national character traits that were attributed to blood lineage (Malkin 2001, 15; Banks 1996).

45 Hall 2003, 31.

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# THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC SPACE

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## Introduction

As pointed out by Counts a couple of years ago, Cypriot sculpture has received relatively modest attention compared to other fields of Ancient art,<sup>1</sup> a statement which indeed applies better to the Classical than the preceding Archaic period. The present paper focuses on some innovations from the late Archaic period onwards and offers some comments concerning their significance.

During much of the first millennium BC the island was divided into what is sometimes called petty kingdoms, but as witnessed in particular by the so-called royal tombs at Salamis and their contents, the elite was certainly capable of investing a lot of energy and wealth in its burial tradition.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore fair to assume that this self-promoting attitude was likewise expressed in other aspects of life, and in particular at public places like sanctuaries where pious offerings such as statues conveniently simultaneously conveyed messages of social power.<sup>3</sup> The reconstructed scale drawings of one particular type of statues produced by Faegersten illuminate how impressive many of these statues actually were in respect of both size and expression.<sup>4</sup> From the beginning

of the Archaic period large scale statues were set up in the Cypriot sanctuaries, a phenomenon shared by most areas of the island, from Ajia Irini in the north western part to the eastern part with sanctuaries like Golgoi, Idalion and Kition-Bamboula, while the Kition-Kathari sanctuary, presumably for Astarte, presents an interesting exception. While the stylistic expression of the statuary varies from the somewhat bizarre terracottas found at Ajia Irini to the often more highly praised limestone statues primarily found in the southeastern part of the island, they share the same function. They were all produced and used as gifts to the gods. At the same time they functioned as promoting signifiers among the living, a function that is underlined by their often elaborate headgear and jewellery as well as other symbols of elitarian character. Therefore the statues may be read, so to speak, as forming part of sacral and secular rituals at the same time.

## Garments and their significance

Modern interest has focused on the male statues and their possible messages of social rank. For instance, a more or less prominent beard or the

lack of it is a helpful marker of age and rank,<sup>5</sup> and statues with turbans have been associated with Herodotus' description of the Cypriot kings who, distinguished by wearing a *mitra*, joined the Persian fleet.<sup>6</sup> However, the Amathus *sarcophagus*, which is often referred to in this context provides a somewhat confusing piece of evidence concerning this particular headgear.<sup>7</sup> A section of the chariot procession on one of the long sides of the *sarcophagus* has pictorial references to reliefs of Assyrian and Achaemenid kings shown with attendants holding a parasol above them. However, on the *sarcophagus* the man wearing a turban is shown as the attendant holding a parasol, which shades both him and the charioteer. Other male statues with Egyptianizing headgear and garment are considered members of local aristocracies, perhaps even priest kings,<sup>8</sup> while it has recently been suggested that the '*kouroi*' with short pants interpreted as representations of royal princes, rather depict sacrificers.<sup>9</sup> Except for one particular group of Archaic statues with an elaborate headgear, like the 'Vouni head' at the Medelhavsmuseet (Fig. 1), which according to some represents images of the Great Goddess,<sup>10</sup> female



Fig. 1. Female head from Vouni. Medelhavsmuseet. Inv. no. V.17.

statues have received less attention, perhaps because they are more difficult to read. No age differentiation is expressed, and their outfit is generally less conspicuous than that of the male statues, although certain accessories like the headgear mentioned above seem to distinguish some of them. During much of the Archaic period Cypriot women apparently dressed simply. They often wore a long undergarment and a comparatively narrow tunic with long sleeves,<sup>11</sup> which could have been made from four pieces of cloth without tailoring. The size of the cloth required for such a garment would not have been excessive and may be compared with a man's ankle length tunic, which is estimated to require 1.5 square meters of cloth.<sup>12</sup> This indicates that, unlike in Greece, the amount of cloth used for a woman's garment and its volume were not essential signifiers of wealth and status. On the other hand, the quality of the fabric seems to have been as important a parameter in the distinction of social classes as it was in Greece. The preserved colour traces on the statues and statuettes indicate that some fabrics were dyed with the highly esteemed red/purple colour, and that the tunics were decorated with simple borders. However, as illustrated by terracottas from the Geometric period onwards, far more elaborately patterned fabrics were indeed used also for female garments.<sup>13</sup>

Van Wees and others have pointed out that according to Homer and Hesiod, garments and cloth woven by the female members of the household and their attendants were not only markers of gender and social status among women, but also social prestigious items for males of the elite,

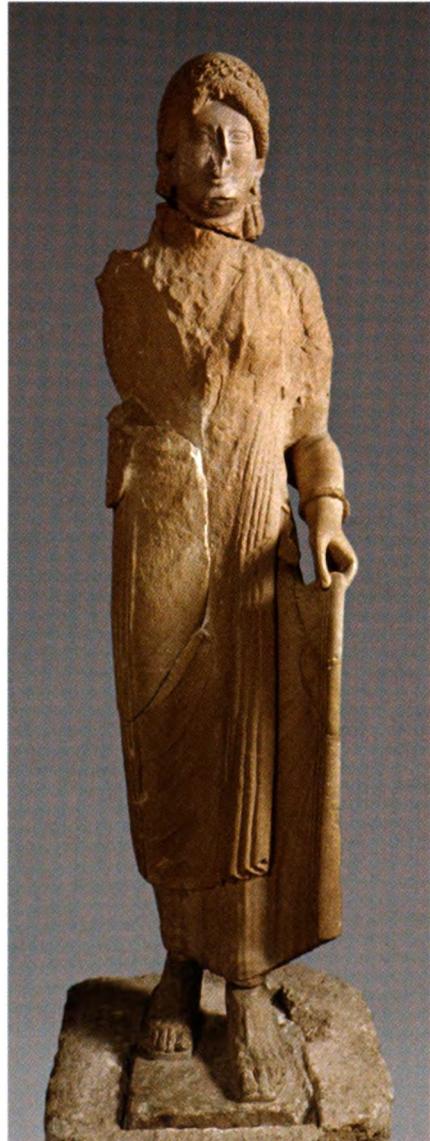


Fig. 2. Kore statue from Vouni. Medelhavsmuseet. Inv. no.V.16+14+24a+25+50.

and a woman was praised according to her skill as a weaver.<sup>14</sup> Whether or not the highly praised textiles stored in the palace of King Priamos were made by women in Sidon or by Sidonian slaves at Troy,<sup>15</sup> Phoenician cloth was famous, and it is reasonable to assume that a similar high standard was present in nearby Cyprus, where the weaving of multi-coloured cloth perhaps reached its acme with the 6<sup>th</sup> century weavers Helicon and Aceseas from Salamis.<sup>16</sup>

In the later 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Greek dress-code became fashionable in Cyprus. Men began to wear a *chiton* and a mantle, and the few preserved statues, as for instance a headless statue from Salamis and the 'Vouni *kore*' (Fig. 2), illustrate together with a series of statuettes from various sanctuaries the new trend.<sup>17</sup> Many like these are clearly look-alikes to the *kore* statues dedicated on the Athenian acropolis. They are dressed in a diagonal mantle and belong to Yon's type II, while other statuettes of her type III show that Cypriot women of the 5<sup>th</sup> century were not *in toto* dedicated followers of Greek fashion.<sup>18</sup> Some of them are still dressed in a long tunic, and they also wear a mantle, which now seems to be larger and is draped in different ways, and many of them carry an additional tunic. Other statuettes demonstrate that the *peplos* or *chiton* was sometimes provided with a double overfold, which would have required a large piece of cloth,<sup>19</sup> and a fair amount of different materials was apparently also used to create the local Cypriot costume, which has recently been interpreted as a *Heptastolos*.<sup>20</sup> Whether the garments look more or less Greek, or not at all, the important change seems to lie in the consump-



Fig. 3. Grave relief. Medelhavsmuseet. Inv. no. NM Ant 1546.

tion of cloth used for either multi-layered or voluminous garments. The combination of dress elements used to create each outfit would together have demanded a large amount of different types of cloth, and the colour traces on some of the statuettes furthermore show that they were richly ornamented.<sup>21</sup> A *peplos* with its long overfold is estimated to have been about 2 meters tall and 1.5 to 3 meters wide, i.e. up to 6 square meters in size.<sup>22</sup> In addition to wool, linen and silk with gold thread were probably used, which was more labour intensive to produce, and patterned weaving would have been even more time consuming.<sup>23</sup> It has been suggested that in Greece, clothes became more varied and sophisticated during the Archaic period, and in terms of luxury, focus turned to imported items such as Milesian and Scythian cloaks and Lydian sandals and headbands, and as a result a woman's skills as a weaver became less important for her husbands' social status.<sup>24</sup> At present it is not possible to verify if this suggestion as to a changed attitude also applies to Cyprus. On the one hand, Athenaeus' reference to the two famous male weavers from Salamis mentioned above may be read as supportive evidence. On the other hand, perched between Greece and the Near East and being subject to the Persian kings, Cyprus was susceptible to influences from both areas, and matters seem to have been different in Persia. According to Herodotus the Median robe ranked among the most splendid gifts, and Xerxes was furthermore extremely fond of a large fine cloak, which his wife had woven in multi-colour patterns.<sup>25</sup> When he was lured into presenting this cloak

to his daughter-in-law, and thereby caused the fury of his wife, a serious strife broke out at court. The episode illustrates the importance of certain garments, and emphasizes that during the 5th century BC high-ranking women of the Persian court still busied themselves with the production of elaborate garments, pleasing even to the king. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that a similar practice also existed among the elite of the Cypriot vassal kingdoms, even though the island turned to Greece when it came to introduction of new dress types. Evidently a complex situation existed also at Athens during this period, where foreign, including Persian, dress elements were often used.<sup>26</sup>

### Sculpture in stone

While Archaic statuary was almost exclusively confined to the ritual sphere of the sanctuaries, human images began to appear in other contexts during the Classical period. Based upon the finds from Vouni and Amathus, Hermary has recently suggested that during the Achaemenid rule, sculpture, including the Vouni kore, was set up in small chapels and monumental entrance areas of the palaces.<sup>27</sup> If this suggestion is correct it emphasises that as subjects to the Great king, the Cypriot kings were receptive to patterns of behaviour practised at his royal court. Thus the vassal kings paid homage to the Great king, and at the same time they used the changed political situation to their own benefit by creating a distance to the rest of the population. Thereby, statues came to form part of another type of ritual.

During the Classical period, male and female images began to appear

on grave reliefs. While the practice was probably inspired from Greece, it is noteworthy that the grave reliefs appeared in Cyprus at a time when the old relief *stelai* disappeared in Greece together with the *kouros* and the *kore*, the well-known emblems of the aristocracy. As the Cypriot group has been discussed extensively,<sup>28</sup> a couple of comments will suffice here. The subject of the earliest group showing banquet scenes is clearly not influenced by Greek gravestones. The women are shown seated on the *kline*, on which the man is lying as illustrated by a relief in the Medelhavsmuseet (Fig. 3),<sup>29</sup> or she is standing next to it, and sometimes other grown-ups and children are also present. It is generally assumed that the deceased is the principal male member of the family, depicted reclining as if participating in a banquet in daily life, but although the women are only meant as subsidiary partners to the men, the scenes certainly also convey the concept of peaceful family life.

The so-called *niche* *stelai* appear at the same time, followed in the later 5th century BC by the frameless *stelai*, which are clearly influenced by Attic gravestones.<sup>30</sup> More than one person are often depicted, and as is the case with the Attic grave reliefs, it is often difficult to identify the deceased based on the figural representations alone. Again the grave markers should perhaps be read primarily as monuments praising the family. Some reliefs carry a single figure, and here we must assume that the depicted figure represents the deceased. Like the Attic grave reliefs they demonstrate that women were not just important as companions, as they themselves were considered worthy of individual

grave markers. They are shown alone or together with a child or holding an infant or fruits, and like the women depicted on the banquet reliefs they are dressed in a chiton, a *himation* and sometimes the so-called 'Cypriot shawl'. It has been suggested that women with a himation or a shawl drawn up over the head represent older women,<sup>31</sup> but as some of them are depicted together with a child or an infant this suggestion is hardly water-proof unless a certain amount of indifference as to the age of the deceased and the depicted figure, which we know from Greece, also existed in Cyprus.<sup>32</sup> Although veiling had different meanings, it is probably an expression of mourning in the present context.<sup>33</sup>

One of the niche stelai is noteworthy. It is dated to the middle of the 5th century BC and shows a standing woman dressed in a tunic and a cap with down-turned side-flaps and a pellet on top and in front.<sup>34</sup> Pogiatzi compares it with a head in the Louvre, which belongs to a series of male heads wearing a Phrygian cap. According to Hermary this type of cap is primarily worn by children, dressed by parents, who wished to express their fidelity to the Achaemenid dynasty.<sup>35</sup> Hermary suggested that the pellets might be amulets, while Young & Young compared them with medallions.<sup>36</sup> Whatever their significance, the deceased woman on the relief is distinguished by means of this particular cap, which otherwise seems to belong to the male sphere, a phenomenon also expressed by other types of female statues.<sup>37</sup>

In the realm of death another novelty was introduced in the 5th century BC, the so-called anthro-

poid *sarcophagi*. So far only a limited number has been found in Cyprus, where they are confined to the city centres of Kition and Amathus.<sup>38</sup> These *sarcophagi*, which are regarded as "Identitätsträger phönizischen Selbstbewusstseins",<sup>39</sup> were presumably rather expensive and could only be afforded by members of the social elite, copying a custom current among the Sidonian nobility. The evidence of a Phoenician practice at Kition is perhaps not surprising, while the presence of this type of *sarcophagus* at Amathus is more intriguing, as it raises the question if they were purchased by and for Phoenician residents. With reference to other Phoenician types of finds at Amathus and a local necropolis exhibiting Phoenician characteristics, Hermary has suggested that this is very likely the case.<sup>40</sup> In the present context it should merely be noted that these impressive *sarcophagi* were also purchased for female members of the upper social classes and that they illustrate the diversified nature of the Cypriot society.

#### Terracotta sculpture

During the later 5th century a new custom was introduced in connection with burials, this time at Marion on the north coast of the island. Large terracottas, which apparently formed part of a funerary rite, were interred in the *dromoi* of the tombs, where they were found shattered.<sup>41</sup> While the type is new, the terracottas largely repeat the images well known from the stone reliefs. They show bearded men reclining on a *kline* looking much like the lid figures of Etruscan *sarcophagi*. Sometimes a small boy stands in attention next to the *kline*. A larger series depict seated women,

while a few pieces of younger beardless men seated in chairs or on stools represent a new type. According to Dentzer the female figures are merely complementary figures to the reclining men like the women on the banquet reliefs.<sup>42</sup> Raptou, on the other hand, underlines their fine outfits and the elaborate chairs they are seated in, and considers at least some of them to be images of deceased women.<sup>43</sup> Some are rendered with a mourning gesture, others hold an object or a child on the lap, or extend one hand forward, and in some cases a small figure, probably a child, stands next to or in front of the woman. Most of the female figures are dressed in a chiton and a mantle, which covers the head and is draped in various ways. However, based upon the published material, the figures apparently do not form specific groups according to dress arrangements, gestures and accessories. Again, age is not an issue, while an effort has been made to accentuate the volume of the garments indicating that they belong to the well-to-do. Even if the mourning female figures were only meant as companions to deceased husbands and were placed in the graves to emphasize the loss of prestigious male members of the family, the remaining females still document the family's and thereby the society's concern for honouring their dead female members. Like the grave reliefs they display different female capacities, as they are shown as wives, mothers and perhaps pious adorants with fruits, perhaps expressing a simultaneous reference to fertility. The impressive and sometimes decorated chairs indicate that they ranked as highly as the young men, who are sometimes sitting on simple stools.

Another interesting point is the interment of the terracottas within the tombs. Even though they may have been on display a short time after the burial took place, their function was never meant as a lasting commemoration of the deceased, but rather served to impress people attending the funeral. Like the anthropoid *sarcophagi* their subsequent interment in the tombs may be seen as an expression of conspicuous consumption, as they had no value as markers of long-term ancestor veneration.

While numerous Cypriot terracottas represent women occupied with daily tasks, a couple of limestone models of the 5th century BC provide a somewhat interesting glimpse of other female occupations, with Near Eastern rather than Greek connotations. The model found in the necropolis of Amathus depicts a woman and a child standing in a *quadriga*, which looks as if it is finely draped.<sup>44</sup> Neither figure is represented as a charioteer. The woman's right arm, which is wrapped in the mantle, is bent in front of her body with the hand resting on the chest, a gesture which is made by male statues from early on and which, together with her position in the chariot, indicates that she is a woman of substance. The model indicates that such women could appear in public in a commanding and elevated position, raised above commoners at certain, probably festive occasions. Other models show a woman wrapped in a shawl looking out from a two-wheeled cart.<sup>45</sup> The best preserved model is drawn by two horses led by a man and accompa-

nied by a figure walking behind the cart. It has been interpreted as the *harmamaxa* used by the Persians for travelling, and according to Greek writers it was also used by the Persian king and in particular by women of the court, both noble and concubines who were thus shielded from being looked at.<sup>46</sup> Others, like Brosius, who are sceptical to the Greek description of a very strict seclusion of Persian noble women, refer to Plutarch,<sup>47</sup> who describes how Stateira, the wife of Artaxerxes II, was popular with the common people because her carriage always appeared with its curtains open, allowing the women to approach and greet her. Furthermore, noble women also formed part of the royal entourage of the king during his military campaigns and when he was hunting.<sup>48</sup> Apparently women of the Persian court were less secluded than the Greek tales imply, and the two models indicate that the Cypriot and Persian nobles shared certain practices.

### Conclusion

As mentioned above, images of men and women were largely erected in sanctuaries during much of the Archaic period, where they acted as markers of piety and self-promotion. Only later did they appear in other contexts, and thereby introduced new discourses pertaining in particular to death and burial. Of course the grave markers with banquet scenes refer to the upper-class dining fashion introduced from the Near East, but at the same time they merely represent emblematic scenes of correct civilian

family relations as did the other grave reliefs and terracottas deposited in the tombs at Marion. A possible explanation for this could be that with the Persian wars and their aftermath there was a need to underline the reassuring atmosphere of the family in the public sphere. At least there seems to have been a reluctance to commemorate the war-dead with grave stones depicting soldiers or alluding to soldiery since the only example from the Classical period is that of Dionysios from Kardia in Thracia, who was evidently a foreigner receiving a treatment different from that of the Cypriotes.<sup>49</sup> Although we do not know if war-dead Cypriotes received communal burials and monuments of commemoration as they did in Greece,<sup>50</sup> the late 4th century *cenotaph* at Salamis at least gives us a hint that specific measures were taken in connection with specific events. The terracottas found in connection with this monument document yet another use of statuary on the island and illustrate that Greek style became more and more prominent here as it did in other areas of the Mediterranean. However, other elements such as certain garments, the *sarcophagi*, the possible use of statuary in the palaces, and the limestone models indicate a diversity of cultural signifiers within the Cypriot societies, which need closer scrutiny. In conclusion it should be stressed that women and their images played an active part in the public world of images, no matter what changes took place.

NOTES

- 1 Counts 2001, 129.
- 2 Karageorghis 1969, 23.
- 3 Sørensen 1994, 88; Senf 2005, 103.
- 4 Faegersten 2003, pl. 22-35.
- 5 Sørensen 1994, 87.
- 6 Hdt. 7, 90.
- 7 Tatton-Brown 1981, no. 80.
- 8 Brönner 1994, 52; Faegersten 2003, 259.
- 9 Hurschmann 2003, 203.
- 10 Karageorghis 1977; Hermary 1982, 167. For a different view cf. Sørensen 1994, 85.
- 11 Giesen 1999, 99.
- 12 van Wees 2005, 45.
- 13 Caubet, Hermary & Karageorghis 1992, no. 122.
- 14 van Wees 2005, 45.
- 15 van Wees 2005, 47.
- 16 Ath. II, 48b.
- 17 Yon 1974, fig. 18.
- 18 Yon 1974, figs. 19, 25-27.
- 19 Hermary 1989, no. 836.
- 20 Lubsen-Admiraal 2002, 259.
- 21 E.g. Yon 1974, pls. 37-40.
- 22 van Wees 2005, 46.
- 23 Miller 1997, 75-81.
- 24 van Wees 2005, 49.
- 25 Hdt. 3.84.1 and 9.109.1.
- 26 Miller 1997, 153.
- 27 Hermary 2001, 14, 16.
- 28 Tatton-Brown 1986; Pogiatzi 2003.
- 29 Pogiatzi 2003, 9.
- 30 Pogiatzi 2003, 35.
- 31 Pogiatzi 2003, 55.
- 32 Boardman 1985, fig. 150.
- 33 Cairns 2002, 75, 81.
- 34 Pogiatzi 2003, no. 54.
- 35 Hermary 1989, 219.
- 36 Hermary 1989, no. 461; Young & Young 1955, 202.
- 37 Sørensen 2002, 129.
- 38 Hermary 1981, 85; Hermary 1987, 58.
- 39 Bol & Frede 2005, 177.
- 40 Hermary 2000, 1051. For the Phoenician type cemetery at Amathus, cf. Christou 1998.
- 41 Dentzer 1982, 212-214; Flourentzos 1994; Raptou 1997.
- 42 Dentzer 1982, 213.
- 43 Raptou 1997, 229.

- 44 Hermary 1981, no 45; Hermary 2000a, no. 868.
- 45 Hermary 1981, 48, no. 43.
- 46 Aesch. Pers. 1001; Hdt. VII, 41, 83; Plut. Them. 26, 4.
- 47 Plut. Artax. 5.6.
- 48 Brosius 1996, 84, 88.
- 49 Pogiatzi 2003, no. 73.
- 50 Low 2003.

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# KEEPING HOUSE: OUR DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLD (1926–2006)

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## Introduction

Prior to initiating the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927–1931), Einar Gjerstad undertook a detailed study of the Cypriot Bronze Age for his doctoral dissertation (published as *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* in 1926). Aware that “the places where man lived his daily life” were still “untouched by the archaeologist’s spade”,<sup>1</sup> he excavated two houses in 1924. With the exception of a small, still unpublished exposure at Ambelikou-*Aletri*, excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1942,<sup>2</sup> these remained for 50 years the only known domestic structures of the Early and Middle Bronze Age on the island. Since the mid-1970s, however, excavations at Sotira-*Kaminooudhia*, Alambra-*Mouttes*, Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* and Marki-*Alonia* (Fig. 1) have greatly improved our understanding of domestic architecture,<sup>3</sup> at the same time adding a considerable measure of confusion. This paper looks at the form and structure of households in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus, using recent data from Marki as a starting point for a broader discussion of social relationships within and between households, including that of gender.



Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.

## The evidence

### *Alambra*

Gjerstad excavated his first house at Alambra in central Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> He identified two non-communicating rectangular rooms set within a rectangular courtyard (Fig. 2a). The northern room was interpreted as a cooking, eating, sleeping and work room, and the southern room, which had several benches and a “grinding-place”, as a storage and work room. The courtyard surrounded the house on three sides. It was walled to the east only, leading Gjerstad to con-

clude that it was otherwise enclosed by a wooden or brush fence. He noted its similarity to “what the Cypriotes call a *mandra*”,<sup>5</sup> and suggested that it was used to house sheep and goats. The excavated complex was identified as a semi-rural shepherd’s house and dated to Early Cypriot III. Subsequent study of the ceramic material, however, suggests a Middle Cypriot I date.<sup>6</sup>

### *Kalopsidha*

Gjerstad excavated a second, larger and more complex house at Kalopsidha.<sup>7</sup> It is an eleven-roomed rectili-

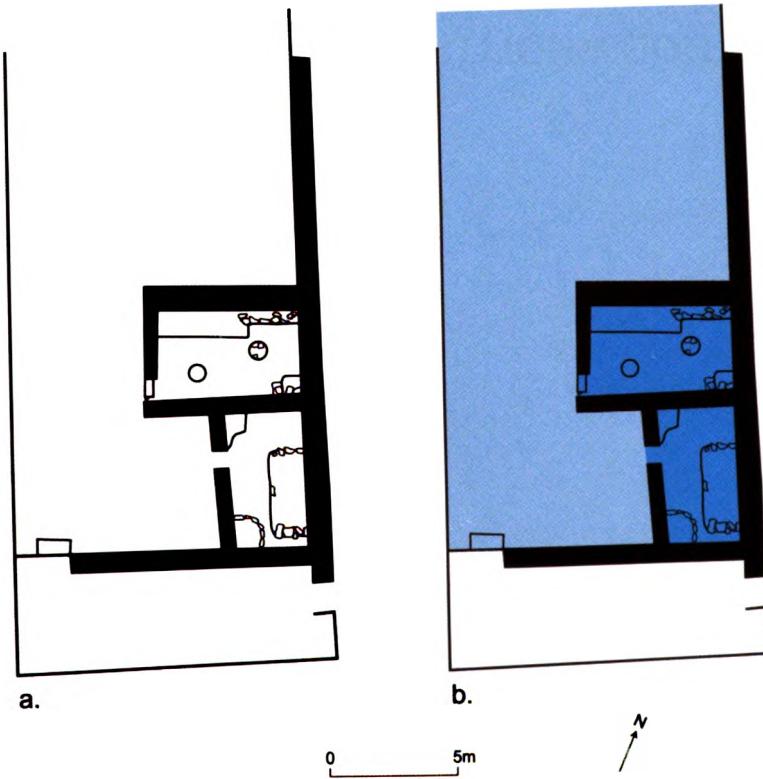
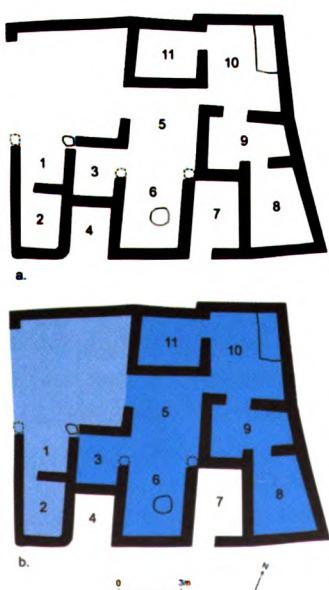


Fig. 2a-b. Plan of an EC III/MC I house at Alambra excavated by Gjerstad in 1924. (After Gjerstad 1926, fig. 1.)

Fig. 3a-b. Plan of an MC III house at Kalopsidha excavated by Gjerstad in 1924. (After Gjerstad 1926, fig. 3.)



near building measuring some 15 by 12 metres, located within a settlement and built over the remains of earlier structures (Fig. 3a). Considerable quantities of material remained on the floors, suggesting relatively rapid abandonment and allowing Gjerstad to identify room function with some confidence.<sup>8</sup> A central room, Room 5, produced substantial evidence for cooking, large numbers of domestic vessels and two saddle querns. In the belief that intensive use of fire could only have taken place in an unroofed space, Gjerstad identified this as an open inner court. In Room 6, effectively an extension of Room 5, a lime concrete feature with a central cavity

was identified as a secondary hearth for warmth and light or an altar. The room produced storage and table vessels and was identified as the “*salle de réception*”. Rooms to the south and east, also accessed from Room 5, were identified as storage/work areas (Rooms 9, 10, 11) and a sleeping room (Room 8), and Rooms 4 and 7, which open onto unexcavated space to the west, as stables or out-houses.<sup>9</sup> A semi-enclosed rectangular area north of Room 5 was not numbered by Gjerstad and does not appear to have been considered part of the house unit.<sup>10</sup>

The building was identified as a merchant’s house, on the basis of quantities of wheel-made vessels believed to be imports from Syria. Its construction and use were attributed to Middle Cypriot III.<sup>11</sup> Recent analyses of the ceramic material by Åström,<sup>12</sup> and Crewe,<sup>13</sup> however, suggest a date, at least for final abandonment, in Late Cypriot I.

#### *Sotira-Kaminoudha*

Larger-scale excavations at Sotira-Kaminoudha between 1981 and 1986 uncovered substantial remains of domestic buildings dated to Early Cypriot III (Fig. 4). Swiny,<sup>14</sup> and Wright,<sup>15</sup> characterise the architectural system at this site as “agglutinative” (or additive); that is, as belonging to a tradition in which rooms were added to one another “in any and every manner – without any regard for part or whole”.<sup>16</sup> They see no unitary buildings, only a “random settlement plan” with “room conglomerations” which extend more or less over the whole area. Wright used the word “hive” to evoke the character of what he called “this strange building”, and

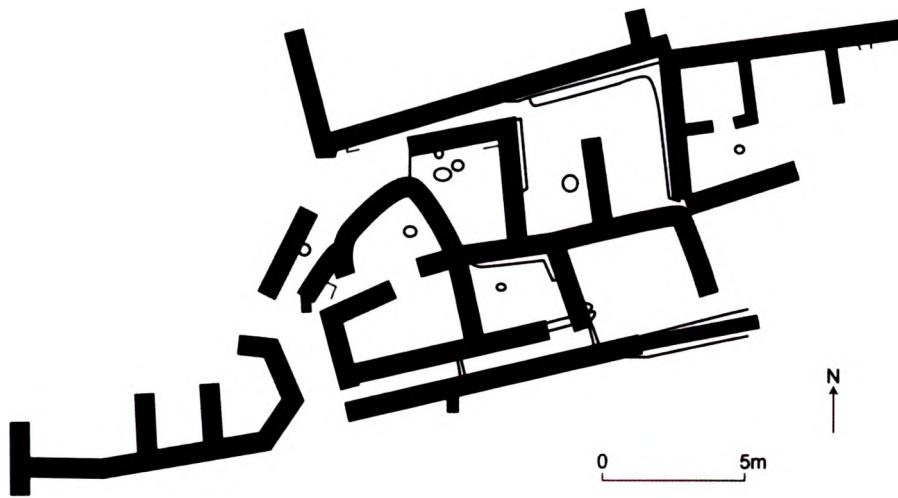


Fig. 4. Plan of the domestic architecture in Area A at Sotira-Kaminoudhia.  
(After Swiny 1989, fig. 2.2a.)



Fig. 5a-b. Plan of the domestic architecture at Alambra-Mouttes.  
(After Coleman et al. 1996, fig. 14.)

further speculated that it might be indicative of "an early (regional?) type of communal living settlement".<sup>17</sup>

#### *Alambra-Mouttes*

Excavations by Cornell University (1974–1985) at Alambra-Mouttes, some 450 m northeast of the structure uncovered by Gjerstad, produced full or partial remains of six houses of early Middle Cypriot date.<sup>18</sup> These are terrace or "long house" units with party walls and entrances opening from a street (Fig. 5a). Each has a major transverse wall which divides the house into a front and rear section, with the rear further divided to produce a total of three to five rooms per house. The front sections may have been partly or fully enclosed with their front walls perhaps lost in an erosion gully.

#### *Episkopi-Phaneromeni*

A small area of housing in Area G at Episkopi-Phaneromeni, excavated in 1975–1978, is dated to Middle Cypriot III. Unfortunately it, and the more extensive Late Cypriot I remains in Area A, still await full publication.<sup>19</sup> The architectural system in both areas is described by the excavator as "agglutinative", with "rambling multi-roomed complexes arranged around courtyards".<sup>20</sup>

#### *Marki-Alonia*

By far the largest domestic exposure currently available is that at Marki-Alonia, excavated between 1991 and 2000.<sup>21</sup> Here a nine phase stratigraphic sequence represents over 500 years of occupation, from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Philia period) to Middle Cypriot II. This allows an unusually comprehensive view of

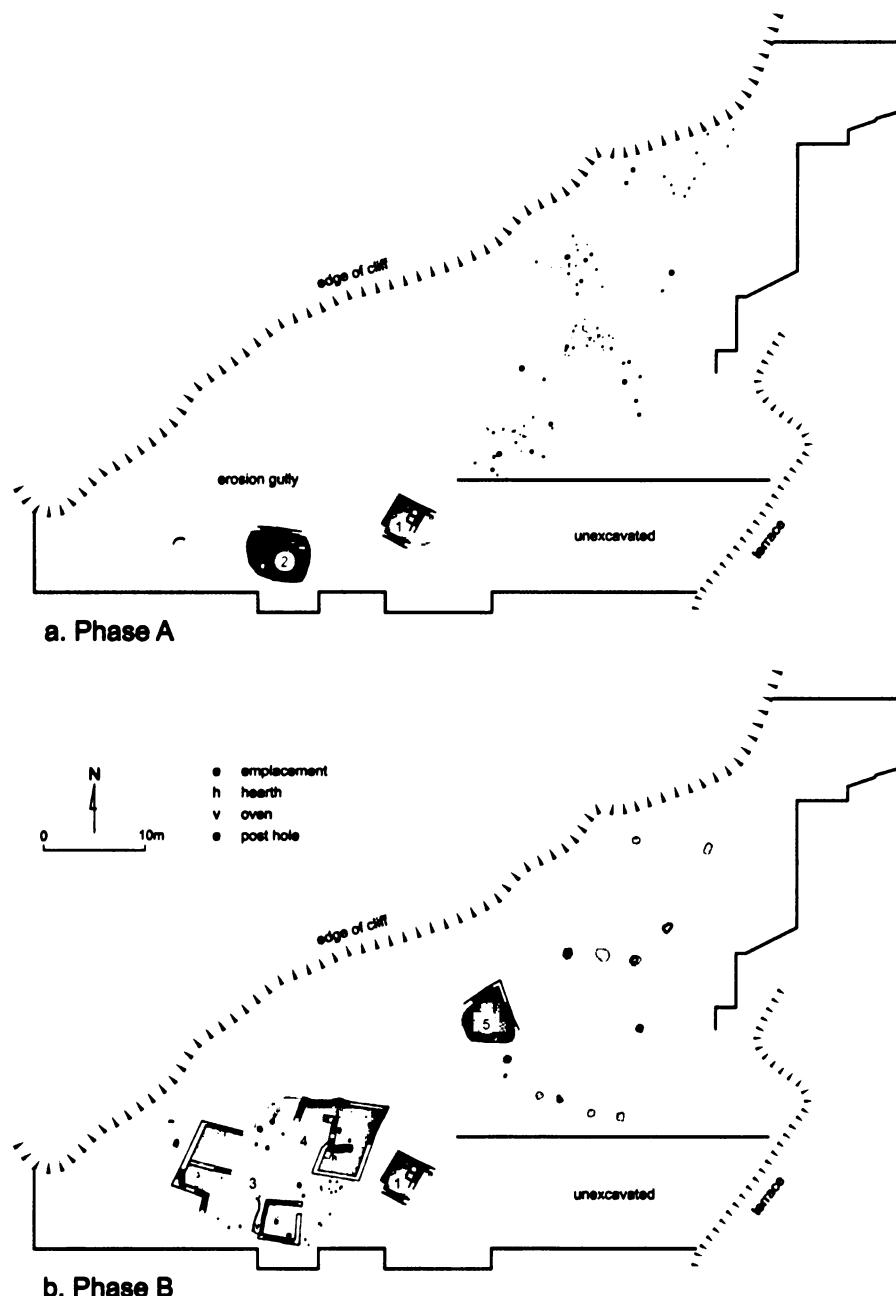


Fig. 6a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases A and B at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.1–2.)

settlement history and of changing patterns of relationship within the village. In total, 33 architectural households or house compounds have been identified. Most are comprised of two or more covered rooms set within a partly or fully enclosed courtyard (see Figs. 6–10, where compounds are differentiated by colour with courtyards designated by lighter and inner rooms by darker shading).<sup>22</sup>

The settlement at Marki was founded in about 2300 BC (Phase A, Fig. 6a). The two excavated complexes of this phase (Compounds 1 and 2) are very poorly preserved but appear to have been on the edge of the village. To the east arrays of post holes suggest the presence of animal pens and work stations beyond the built-up area. A generation or two later, in Phase B (Fig. 6b), several new compounds were constructed. The best preserved (Compounds 3 and 4) were two-room units set within a common courtyard. The courtyard was used for flint-knapping, antler- and shell-working, pottery production and baking in a large oven. Sets of post holes suggest animal pens and sheds; a fence and a *pithos* burial mark the southern boundary and a freestanding room in the southeast served as a storage and processing facility. These compounds appear to represent two households with separate inner rooms and shared courtyard space, forming a cooperative residential and economic unit.

As the population of the village increased, the built-up area expanded. In Phase C (Early Cypriot I, Fig. 7a) the two Phase B compounds were replaced by Compounds 6 and 7. These again take the form of covered rooms within a courtyard, but the courtyard

was now enclosed by a stone wall on three sides. Compounds 6 and 7 share a common wall but there was no access between them. Compound 6 and the smaller Compound 8 to the north communicated through an opening, which led from the courtyard of 6 to the courtyard of 8. This suggests a connection between these two households, perhaps involving the establishment by Compound 6 of an off-shoot compound housing an extended family unit. Other households built in Phase C are similar in structure with covered rooms set within partly walled courtyards. Although some share walls, they were clearly independent units of relatively similar size, each with a total area of about 100 m<sup>2</sup>.

The inhabited area expanded further in Phase D (Early Cypriot II, Fig. 7b), requiring the establishment of a north/south laneway to provide access through this part of the settlement. While Compound 7 remained unchanged, Compound 6 was substantially modified and both Compounds 6 and 8 were now entered via a short passage from the lane. Compound 9 was restructured to become a three-roomed house entered from the laneway and a number of new compounds were built on either side of the lane. These include two-room Compounds 14 and 15 without courtyards on the west and a larger Compound 13, with two inner rooms and a courtyard, on the east. Three new compounds of the usual type were constructed in previously open space to the northeast.

In Phase E (Early Cypriot III, Fig. 8a), Compound 7 was completely walled off and reoriented to the north. In Compound 8 the two inner

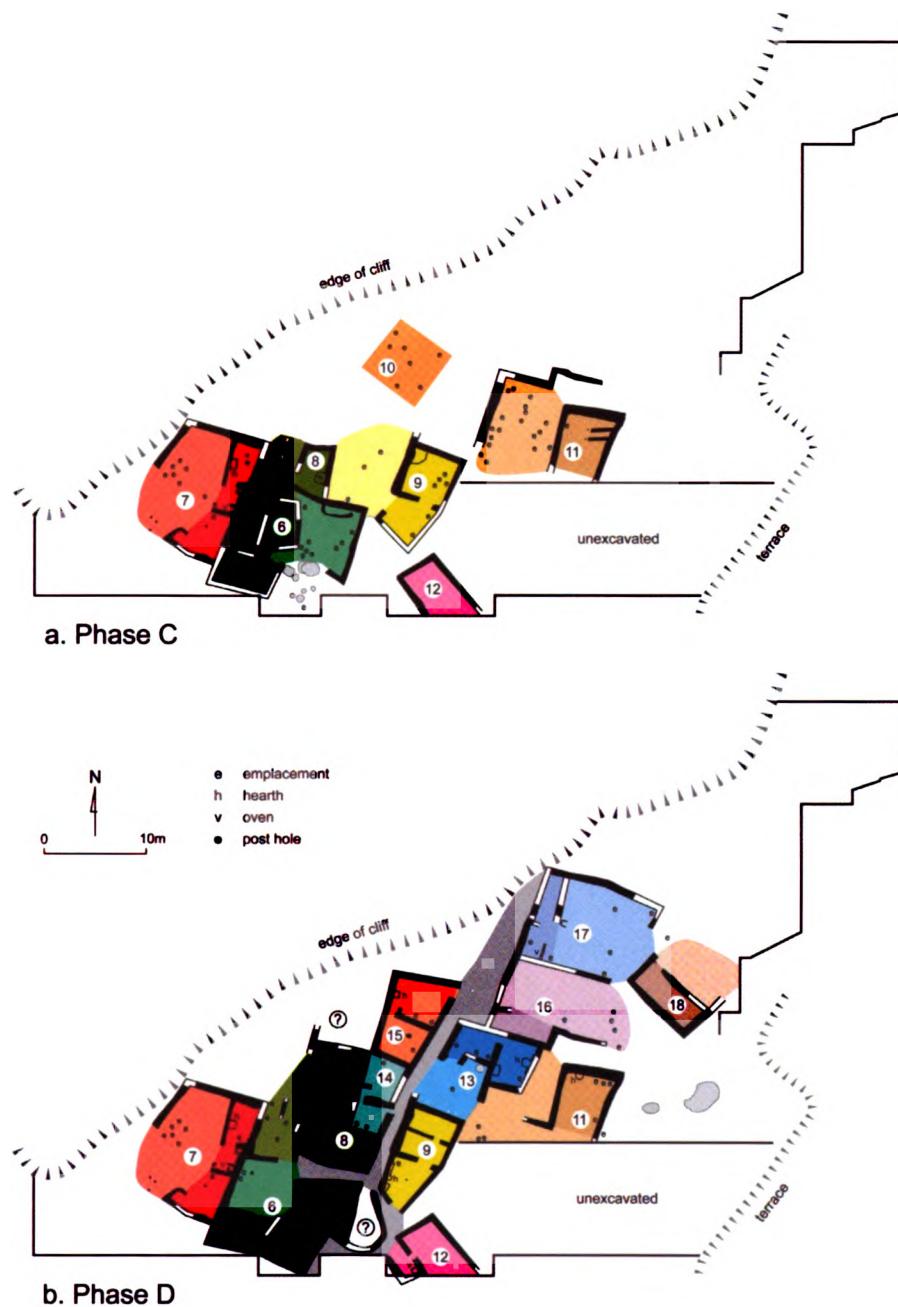
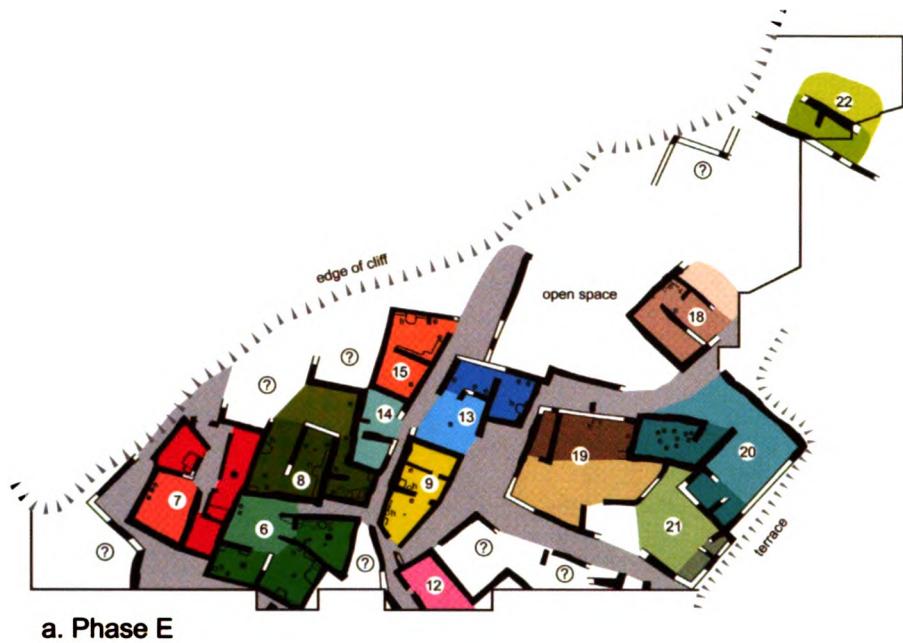
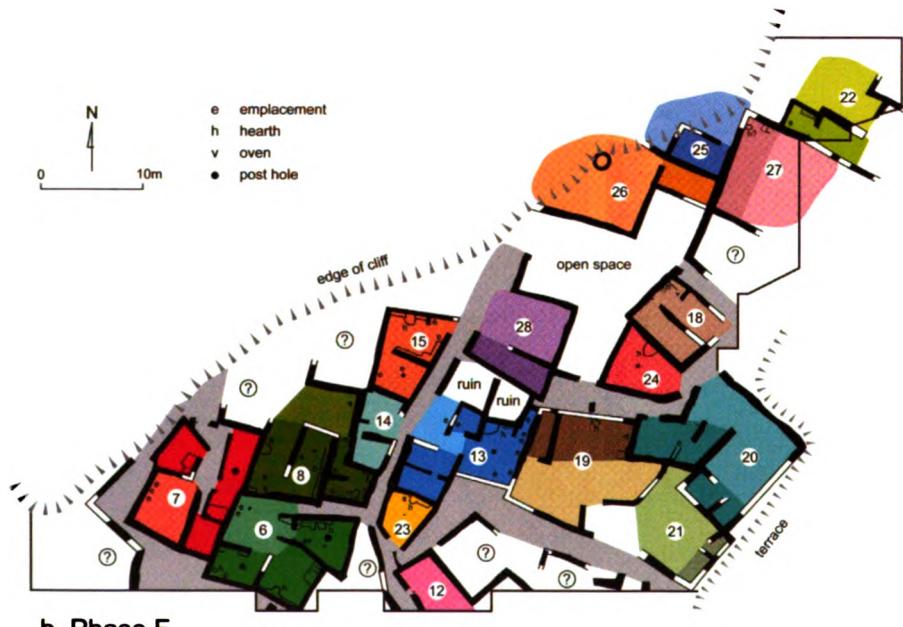


Fig. 7a-b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases C and D at Marki.  
(After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11-3-4.)



a. Phase E



b. Phase F

Fig. 8a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases E and F at Marki.  
(After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.5–6.)

rooms were enlarged and a third room added to the west. Major and minor changes are also visible in the compounds to the east, where new laneways were established to provide access to compounds built at this time. This reduced reliance on the main north/south access route and arranged old compounds into new configurations.

This pattern of increasing density of occupation continued during Phase F (Fig. 8b). To the north new compounds were constructed on open ground and areas of open space between compounds were enclosed. Major changes also occurred in the centre of the area with the construction of Compound 28. This involved the partial demolition of what had previously been the interior rooms of Compound 13, creating the first standing ruins in the excavated area. At the same time a new phenomenon, that of the single-room compound (Compounds 23 and 24), appears.

During Phase G (Middle Cypriot I, Fig. 9a) a process of decline set in as compounds fell out of use and were not replaced. Compounds 6 and 7 continued to be occupied within their original boundaries and some new compounds were built (notably Compound 29), but others were reduced in size or abandoned. By Phase H (Fig. 9b) the density of occupation was significantly lower in this part of the site and by Phase I (Middle Cypriot II, Fig. 10) only three compounds were still in use.

Discrete house compounds with two, three or more rooms at the rear of a courtyard were clearly the standard house form at Marki from first settlement to final abandonment. Although new household

types, specifically single room units and compounds with no courtyards, developed through time, the majority of compounds, particularly where these were not constrained by existing structures, took the traditional form. Also evident is an *intra-site* evolution from relatively open, cooperative relationships in the earliest years of occupation to an increasingly segregated, enclosed system in later periods. In Phases A and B courtyards were open or surrounded by light fences. In Phase C walls were built to close courtyards on three sides, leaving wide entrances from surrounding open space. By Phase E courtyards were fully walled with access via narrow doorways or internal passages.

Alongside these developments, interior space was progressively subdivided and there was an increased reliance on prescriptive access routes. The location of some facilities also changed. Animal pens and work stations, initially found in courtyards, are not present from Phase D onward. Ovens were relocated to interior rooms in Phase C and internal screen walls appear, apparently to conceal hearths from exterior view (these features are best seen in the well-preserved Compound 29). These changes may be seen as reflecting an increasing desire for household privacy and security, which is likely to have been linked with notions of private property, intergenerational inheritance and the control and manipulation of space and other resources.

Rectangular houses, as Flannery and others have argued,<sup>23</sup> reflect the practical advantages of isolating family groups as the basic unit of production and consumption within a delayed return seasonal farming econ-

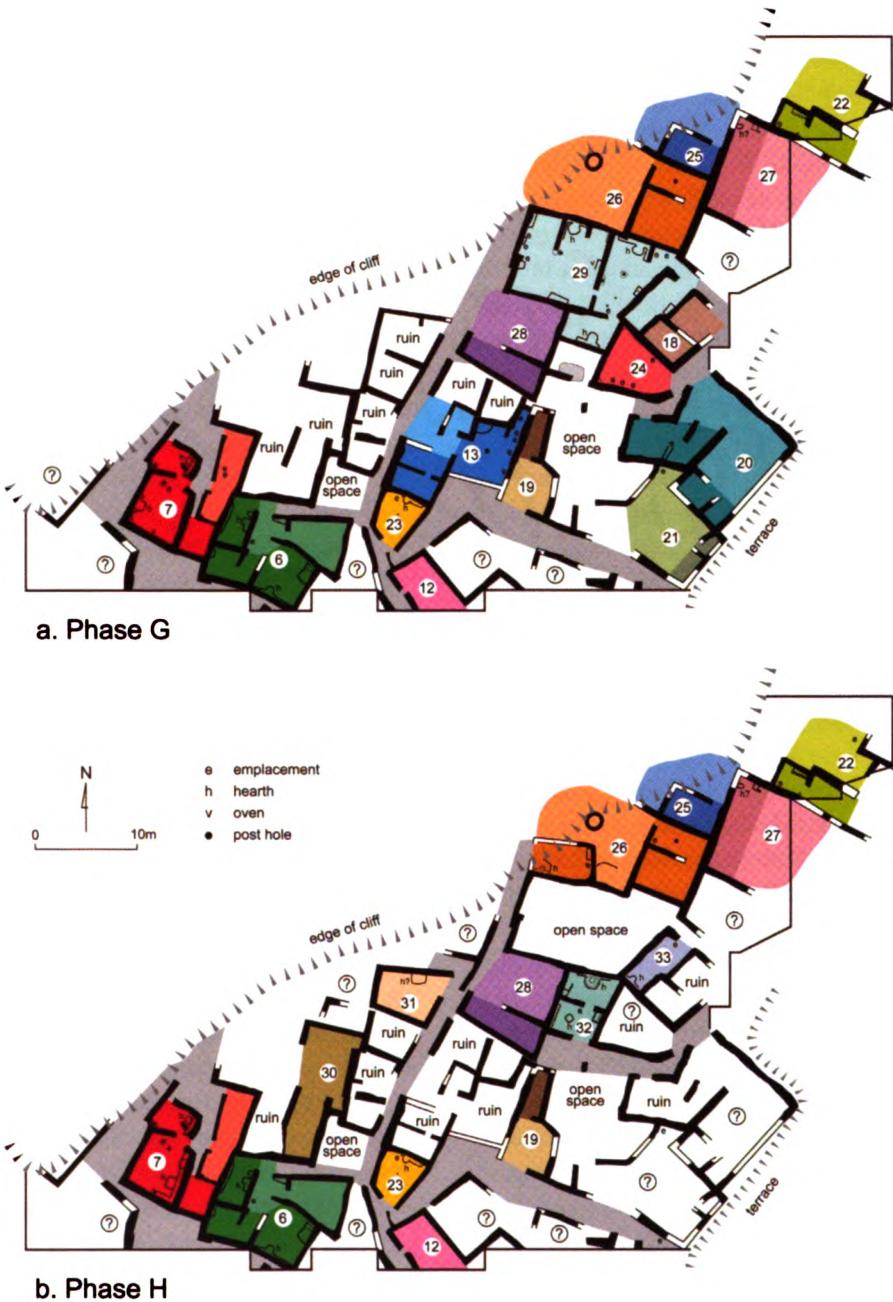
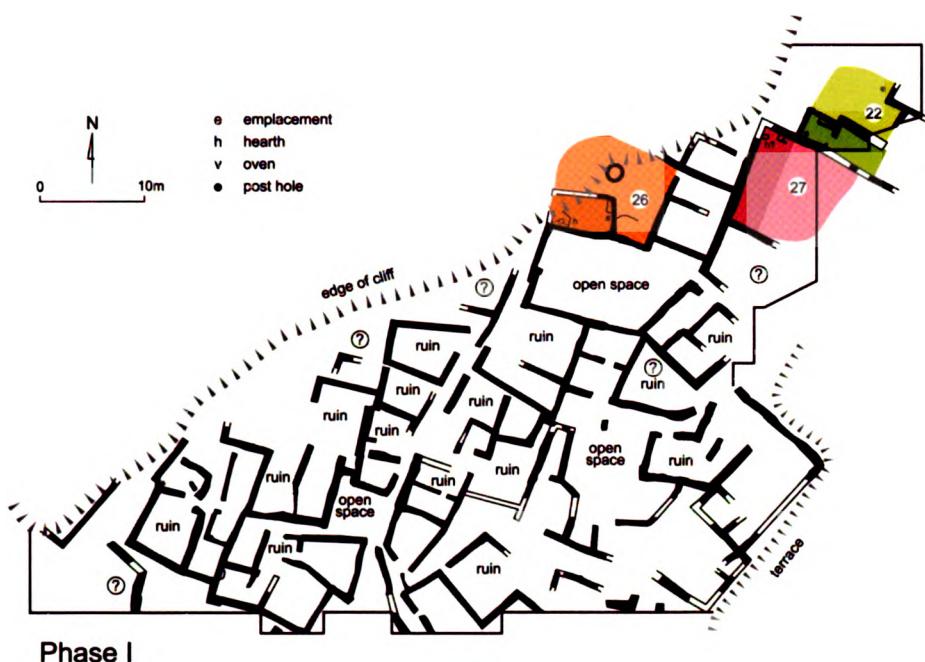


Fig. 9a-b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases G and H at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.7-8.)



Phase I

Fig. 10. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phase I at Marki.  
(Drawing by the author and D. Frankel.)

omy. Because a household workforce consumes its own produce, it has an incentive to increase production, but only if it can avoid obligations to share or pool resources. An increased desire for privacy and the walling off of household compounds is thus "the material expression of an ideology of hoarding, as opposed to sharing".<sup>24</sup> House walls define household membership and mark out internally stored produce as private property. This process of household segregation, in its architectural form, is visible at Marki in Phase C (Early Cypriot I) and increasingly evident thereafter.

Other observations relate these developments to the artefactual data. In Phases A and B the structural evidence suggests co-operative storage, preparation and consumption of food between several, probably kin-related households. From Early Cypriot I onward, however, staples were stored

in closed courtyards and interior rooms and ovens were reduced in size and moved into kitchen extensions. At the same time decorated table ware, which had been prominent during the earliest, Philia periods of occupation, virtually disappears.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that social interaction between households was more restricted in Early Cypriot I and II, in keeping with the increased architectural isolation of house compounds and the location of hearths and ovens in interior rooms.

A significant innovation in Early Cypriot III, when courtyards were fully enclosed and the process of privatization of the household appears to have reached its maximum extent, is the introduction of anthropomorphic figurines, primarily if not exclusively depicting females and infants, and of zoomorphic figurines depicting cattle. This may reflect, in the first instance, an increasing

desire to control the source of future labour (i.e. the reproductive potential of adult female members of the household) in an intensive agricultural economy. Cattle, also, are a valuable form of capital and likely to have served as a form of "indirect storage" against the periodic failure of crops as well as a means of establishing social ties through exchange.<sup>26</sup> They also provided over half the meat supply at Marki and were clearly of paramount economic importance.<sup>27</sup>

While there is little or no evidence at Marki for marked differences in social or economic status, the emergence of some households without courtyards in Early Cypriot II may signify an increasing differentiation in land ownership through time. Some households perhaps continued to own land, while families without land engaged in more specialised activities, in which case the latter may have provided a market for the surplus produce of the former and a source of seasonal labour. This situation is likely to have led to an increasing divergence of household activities and to changing and increasingly complex relationships between households.

## Discussion

Currently Marki provides the only evidence for a developmental sequence and for evolving interactions within and between households for the earlier periods of the Cypriot Bronze Age. Insights gained here may throw light on the more short-lived or single period domestic complexes at other sites discussed above.

In the first instance there are obvious similarities between the physical structure and layout of Gjerstad's house at Alambra and house com-

pounds at Marki: both comprise small rooms within a rectangular courtyard. The fact that the courtyard of Gjerstad's house remained only partly enclosed while contemporary compounds at Marki were fully walled may reflect its more isolated location. In any case it no longer stands wholly apart, as previously believed,<sup>28</sup> from domestic structures in more densely built-up areas.

Coleman's early Middle Cypriot houses at Alambra give the appearance of a more structured system than at Marki, no doubt in part because they are single period houses. The general design, however, of multi-roomed dwellings with a single entrance and a flow from outer to inner rooms is not dissimilar to the primary form at Marki and the outermost spaces in each case may have been courtyards, as suggested in Figure 5b. In any case, they form discrete and unitary households of similar size and with a similar array of interior features and privacy mechanisms to those in use at Marki.

The more irregular appearance of buildings at Sotira matches the complexity of the final system at Marki and may also be the end-product of settlement growth, infilling and minor and major restructuring. Courtyards are not specifically identified, but linked rooms lead off from one another, sometimes accessed through narrow passageways. Although viewed by Wright as "formless agglutinative complexes",<sup>29</sup> it is possible that conjoined but discrete and unitary households are present here as at Marki.

Excavations at Marki also prompt a reevaluation of Gjerstad's house at Kalopsidha. This building was identi-

fied by Wright as belonging to the *Hofhaus* (i.e. central courtyard) tradition,<sup>30</sup> with rooms set around the sides of a four square block and circulation by way of a central open space (Room 5). Room 5, however, was identified as a central court on the grounds that extensive use of fire could only have taken place in an unroofed area. Given the routine presence of cooking hearths and ovens in interior (i.e. roofed) units at Marki and Sotira, this is no longer convincing. Rooms 5 and 6 at Kalopsidha are better viewed as a single functional unit equivalent to the main hearth rooms found in all well preserved compounds at Marki (e.g. Unit XIII in Compound 29 in Phase G, Unit XCIV in Compound 6 in Phases E and F, Unit CIII in Compound 7 in Phases G and H).<sup>31</sup> The large semi-enclosed space to the north of Room 5 may, however, be identified as a courtyard (see Fig. 3b). This brings the Kalopsidha house into line with the majority of house compounds at Marki, where a single entrance provided access to a fully or partly enclosed courtyard and subsequently to two, three or more roofed interior rooms either located side-by-side or one behind the other.

On this reading Units 1 and 2 at Kalopsidha lead off the courtyard and may be seen as storage areas or animal pens (they produced no finds), while Rooms 4 and 7, which cannot be accessed from the courtyard or inner rooms, may belong to another compound to the west. It should be noted, also, that the house excavated by Gjerstad was the last in a sequence of superimposed buildings (for the most part, the walls of the earlier structures were not excavated),<sup>32</sup> so that its form is very likely to be a result

of a series of construction, dismantling, rebuilding and recycling events. The domestic landscape at Kalopsidha may then, like that at Marki, have developed over time from freestanding household compounds or sets of compounds surrounded by open ground to an increasingly densely inhabited area with conjoined buildings, prescribed access routes, decreased courtyard size and on-going partition and remodeling of interior space.

Wright has referred to the surprising variety of rectangular domestic buildings in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus, citing "formless agglutinative complexes, well-formed regular plans for terrace houses, a *Hofhaus* type plan, [and] a rural looking *Hürdenhaus*".<sup>33</sup> This diversity now appears to have been considerably overstated. While the internal variety of house form at Marki is matched to some extent by differences between domestic architecture at Marki and other sites, this is likely in large part to be a result of differing settlement histories and the accidents of excavation, which may focus only on one part of a long-lived site, and influenced by differences in topography and in building techniques favoured in different areas of the island. Underlying this is a common concept of an architectural household as a series of small covered rooms established within and accessed via a fully or partially walled courtyard. This house type was in use over a long period at Marki, and in Middle Cypriot I and Middle Cypriot III, at Alambra and Kalopsidha respectively. While the situation at Sotira in the southwest is far less clear, the apparently agglutinative system at this site and at nearby Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* may be a result

of complex developmental sequences which mask the unitary nature of individual households.

### Implications for understanding gender

In a recent book on gender in ancient Cyprus, Bolger argues for a unilinear development during the Early and Middle Bronze Age from an agglomerative architectural system to freestanding domestic buildings,<sup>34</sup> reflecting over time a further stage in the emergence of nuclear family structures from the earlier kin-based networks of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic. While this needs to be revised in light of the evidence for unitary house compounds from the very beginning of the Bronze Age at Marki, other elements of her broader thesis remain relevant to the present discussion.

Bolger traces changes in the spatial configuration of domestic structures from the Neolithic through the Bronze Age, noting a shift in emphasis from exterior to interior, open to closed and public to private.<sup>35</sup> Among the formal mechanisms used to regulate social interaction are the isolation of households, the compartmentalisation of interior space, the location of storage facilities within buildings and an increasing focus of domestic activities in interior locations. These are all visible at Marki. They were not, however, in place when the village was founded but emerged over time, leaving open the possibility that changes in the nature and structure of households were driven as much by local factors as by wider socio-cultural imperatives.

The privatisation of domestic space at Marki coincided with increases in the size of the commu-

nity and of individual families and with improved economic security at the household level. The social and economic cooperation visible in Phase B may have been a survival mechanism in a community perhaps numbering only a few dozen people, dispersed among a handful of households in relatively inhospitable terrain. Within a hundred years or so this was replaced by self-contained semi-enclosed households, suggesting that residential units were now secure enough to meet the majority of their needs and survive as independent economic entities. This is likely to reflect the creation of reliable production and risk-management systems and to have been accompanied by a desire to establish and maintain private ownership of buildings, land, livestock and other resources. As the population of the village continued to expand, perhaps to 300 or 400, the nature of inter-personal relationships must have changed further as distances increased and access between compounds became more difficult. This is likely to have given rise to mechanisms of social cohesion and control operating beyond the level of the household and to be reflected in the development of privacy devices, formal access routes and fully enclosed households.

The introduction to Cyprus of intensive agricultural technologies and rectilinear architecture at the beginning of the Bronze Age significantly increased the capacity for both household and settlement growth.<sup>36</sup> Agricultural intensification and accelerated birthrates gave rise, at the same time, to an increased focus on economic production at the household level and an expansion in the range and prob-

ably the duration of domestic activities, particularly in the processing and storage of cereals. These key elements of Bronze Age society were present from the foundation of the village at Marki. Subsequent localised changes in the nature of the household may be seen as a result of demographic growth and emerging concepts of private property rather than, or alongside, wider changes in socio-economic structures and concepts of the social household.

The enclosure of the household, in Cyprus as elsewhere, is likely to have led to a relegation of women and women's activities to the interior and to increasingly sharply defined gender identities within and beyond the domestic sphere. Citing both ethnographic and archaeological studies, Bolger suggests a correlation between the increasing segmentation of domestic space and a gender-based division of labour.<sup>37</sup> I have argued elsewhere that the repeated portrayal of women in secondary food processing activities on Red Polished ware vessels, and the lack of overlap between male and female tasks, infers a sexual division of labour in which men and women had consistent gender identities that were related to their productive roles within the household.<sup>38</sup> At that time our knowledge of domestic architecture was not sufficient to determine whether this was accompanied by concepts of separation or opposition. The data now available from Marki, together with residual systemic inventories which suggest that the activities depicted on the vessels (grinding, pounding, baking) were primarily carried out in hearth rooms,<sup>39</sup> does allow us, at least for the Early Cypriot III and Middle Cypriot

periods, to link female tasks with interior household space. Whether this signifies gender segregation or even seclusion remains uncertain but seems unlikely. Hearth rooms at Marki and elsewhere also produced residues from flint-knapping, wood-working and ground stone artefact production, suggesting that they were used as work spaces for a wide range of domestic maintenance activities involving both male and female members of the household.

## Conclusion

Rectilinear house compounds with recognisable individual definition

existed in Cyprus from the beginning of the Bronze Age. The courtyard house, which Gjerstad identified in a relatively simple form at Alambra in 1924, may now be seen to have been the norm over much if not all of the island from the Philia period onward. The agglutinative (or agglomerative) architectural system argued for Sotira and Phaneromeni by Swiny and Wright, with accompanying suggestions of "an early type of communal living",<sup>10</sup> will need to be re-examined in light of the evidence now available from Marki. While cooperation between households is visible in the earliest phases at this site, the evolving

system is one, on the contrary, which sought to isolate house compounds, regulate social interaction, restrict visual penetration and control access and resources. This new understanding of the Early Cypriot household brings the Cypriot domestic system more into line with that of contemporary settlements in surrounding regions and argues for less singular architectural and social developments on the island at this time than those previously envisaged.

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Medelhavsmuseet for organizing this fine conference at which the original version of this paper was delivered. My attendance was facilitated by an exchange program between the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, which provided accommodation in Sweden and allowed me to visit a number of institutions following the conference. This paper owes a great deal to discussions with David Frankel, co-director of the excavations at Marki, who also assisted with the illustrations. Our work in Cyprus has been generously supported over many years by the Australian Research Council and La Trobe University.

### NOTES

- 1 Gjerstad 1926, 19.
- 2 Trial excavations at Ambelikou-*Aletri*.

in 1942 were partly published by Merrillees in 1984. A plan of conjoined irregular rectangular rooms appears in Dikaios 1946, 245, fig. 17; Dikaios 1960, 8, pls. 3b, 29c; Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, fig. 53; Merrillees 1984, fig. 2; Swiny 1989, fig. 2.3, and elsewhere. The site dates to Early Cypriot III and/or Middle Cypriot I (Gjerstad 1980b, 6, pl. V; Merrillees 1984, 7; Barlow 1985, 52–53).

- 3 Middle Cypriot buildings recently uncovered at Pyrgos-*Mavroraki* do not appear to have been domestic.
- 4 Gjerstad 1926, 19–27. See also Stewart 1962, 215, fig. 85. The location of "Gjerstad's house", some 160 m southwest of the peak of *Mouttes* hill, is shown in Coleman et al. 1996, 110, figs. 4–8, pls. 2.f, 16.f.
- 5 Gjerstad 1926, 26.
- 6 Gjerstad's 1926 publication of the Alambra house did not illustrate any of the finds. Subsequent study of the sherd material, housed in the Medelhavsmuseet, by K.W. and G.M.A.

Schaar in 1978 found it to be similar to the ceramic assemblage from Area A at Alambra-*Mouttes* (Coleman & Barlow in Coleman et al. 1996, 522–523). As *Mouttes* is dated to Middle Cypriot I by the excavators, a similar date is indicated for Gjerstad's house, as suggested many years ago by Stewart 1962, 215. See also Barlow 1985, 48–49, 52.

- 7 Gjerstad 1926, 27–37, fig. 3. See also Åström 1966, 8–10; 1972, 1–3, 164–72, 204–205, figs. 1–2.
- 8 The majority of the finds belonged to Stratum 2, which thus appears to have been the main phase of use of the house. See Gjerstad, cited in Åström 1966, 139–140, n. 7.
- 9 Gjerstad (1980a, 65) subsequently suggested that these rooms "were in all probability shops". See also Wright 1992, 74.
- 10 In Gjerstad (1980a, 64), however, this space is referred to as an "outer court".
- 11 Gjerstad 1926, 36.
- 12 Åström 2001, 135.

13 Crewe 2004, 80, 104–108, Table 8.1. See also Stewart, cited in Åström 1966, 9 and n. 10.

14 Swiny in Swiny, Rapp & Herscher 2003, 64–71. See also Swiny 1989, 20.

15 Wright 1992, 69, 213, 306–308, 310–11.

16 Wright 1992, 307.

17 Wright 1992, 227. At the time when Wright was compiling his study of Cypriot architecture the excavators were suggesting an early, possibly Philia phase date for the settlement remains at Sotira. Wright thus saw their sub-rectangular features as a text book example of a process of transition from the round house architecture of the Chalcolithic to the fully rectilinear system of the Bronze Age. The excavated exposure is now dated to Early Cypriot III, with evidence of earlier occupation elsewhere on the site provided by tombs of Philia and Early Cypriot I–II date (see Herscher & Swiny in Swiny et al. 2003, 495–505).

18 Coleman et al. 1996. See also Schaar 1985; Wright 1992, 72–73, 227–28.

19 The only information on Area G to date appears in Carpenter 1981, 60, fig. 3.2.

20 Carpenter 1981, 63.

21 Frankel & Webb 1996; Frankel & Webb 2006a; Frankel & Webb 2006b.

22 Our understanding of the architectural remains at Marki changed considerably during the course of excavation and analysis. Implicit if not explicit in earlier discussions is the view that it was an agglomerative system, similar to that identified at Sotira (Frankel & Webb 1996; Frankel 2000; Webb 2002). The greater quantity of evidence available upon completion of excavations, however, revealed a very different picture, which is fully described in Frankel & Webb 2006a. Unfortunately, our earlier misconceptions are now embedded in the literature (see e.g. Bolger 2003, 32).

23 Flannery 1972.

24 Halstead 1999, 81.

25 For a more detailed discussion, see Frankel & Webb 2006a, 147–148, 315–317.

26 On such “risk-buffering” mechanisms, see Halstead 1990; Halstead 1992, 24; Halstead 1993. Also Keswani 1994.

27 See Croft 2006.

28 Wright 1992, 71–72.

29 Wright 1992, 78.

30 Wright 1992, 73–74, 311.

31 For a detailed description of these units, see Frankel & Webb 2006a.

32 See Gjerstad 1926, 36, fig. 4.

33 Wright 1992, 78.

34 Bolger 2003, 36.

35 Bolger 2003, 21–50.

36 The transition from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus saw the introduction of an array of innovations in technology, society and economy, probably introduced from Anatolia. These included the plough (and cattle and donkeys), metallurgy, extra-mural burial, rectilinear architecture and ceramic cooking vessels. For a more extended discussion, see Webb & Frankel 1999; and Webb & Frankel 2006.

37 Bolger 2003, 37–38.

38 Webb 2002, 93–94. See also Bolger 2003, 39–41.

39 See Frankel & Webb 2006a, 312.

40 Wright 1992, 227.

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